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PADMA-PURĀṆA—A STUDY

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FOREWORD

The present author belongs to the first batch of Post-graduate research students attached to this institution. And it is therefore possible for the academic world to judge the nature, value and importance of research that is being carried on under the auspices of this college. It is a fact that though our indigenous scholars are well acquainted with the value and importance of Purāna texts, it is surprising that modern scholars trained in the western method of research have not paid adequate attention to its systematic and scientific study. It is, however, very significant that one of our front-rank indologists, the late Mm Haraprasad Shastri drew the attention of scholars to the wealth of Purāna literature in the beginning of this century by writing an important monograph to the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol V. The labours of H. H. Wilson, F. E. Pargiter and W. Kirfel in this field can hardly escape our notice. In recent years a few scholars are engaged in critical evaluation of some of the Purānas and Upapuranas as well. And in this context it must be said that the work of Dr Chatterjee is a notable contribution. Dr Chatterjee has studied the problems of the Padma purana in great detail and his observations deserve our careful consideration. It is worth mentioning that the author has utilised his first-hand acquaintance with a number of manuscripts of the Padma purana which has enabled him to present his views on the subject with as much conviction as possible.

GAURINATH SASTRI
General Editor

PREFACE

The Purānas should be studied and utilised by scholars for throwing fresh light on various aspects and problems of Ancient Indian History and Culture. But it is a matter of regret, that although the Purānas can claim pre-eminence as a historical source, not much attention has so far been given to the exploration of the vast literature which they represent. Some papers dealing with a few problems connected with the study of Purāna, however, have been contributed from time to time to the pages of different oriental journals by well-known scholars whose number is far from encouraging.

Nobody denies that a synthetic history of Indian life and society is a desideratum, but in order to write such a history every attempt should be made in the first place, to find out the different strata which constitute the main bulk of a Purāna and the periods to which they respectively belong. It is also essential to study the different recensions with their special characteristics and developments. It is to be regretted that not a single Purāna has yet been edited on these critical lines.

In the following pages, I have tried to discuss the problems of the reconstruction of the Padma-purana. The Padma-purāna with its 55,000 ślokas is one of the most extensive of the eighteen Mahāpurānas. This Purāna can legitimately claim to be a store house of Ancient Indian History and Culture. A product of different important sects and sectaries, it took at least one thousand years to assume its final shape. People from all parts of India contributed to its expansion before it reached its present form, and its provenance is a long territory extending from Maharāstra in Western India to Assam in Eastern India. It is a widely popular Purana, which has come down in two separate recensions, e.g. (i) South Indian and (ii) North Indian (Bengal) of which the former has been printed and published several times, while latter is still unpublished and known from manuscripts only. The following pages will

show that these two are singularly divergent in nature, character and composition. I have tried to establish all the genuine and original constituent parts of the Padma-purāṇa in both these recensions. As regards the Bengal recension, the task was exceptionally difficult in the absence of a printed edition. In my attempt to determine the original constituent parts of this recension of the text I had to collect and collate quite a large number of manuscripts preserved in different parts of the world. Each constituent part has its own individual problems. The dates and provenance differ. Besides these, there exists quite a large number of treatises which claim to belong to the Padma-purāṇa. Although no attention has yet been paid to them by any scholar, they deserve critical consideration due to their intrinsic importance. At least in some cases I had found that these treatises offer valuable suggestions which are helpful from various points of view in the matter of reconstruction of the text. Of these works, out of quite a large number of available manuscripts, I have carefully selected eleven for special study and for an analysis of their contents. Of these, one, i.e., Bhaṭṭaharacarita throws much light on the Khaṇḍa division of the Padma-purāṇa and the ten others belong to different sects and sectaries, e.g., Vaisnava, Vaisnava-śākta, Śaiva, Śaiva-śākta, Saura, Śākta, Tāntric-śākta, Gāṇapatya, Brāhma etc.

Critical editions of the Purāṇas are needed before their cultural value can be properly assessed. All possible problems with regard to the reconstruction of their texts have to be faced and solved. In the following pages my attempt has been limited to the reconstruction of the text of the Padma-purāṇa and questions of cultural interest that may arise therefrom have been systematically avoided. I shall regard my labour amply rewarded if I have succeeded in presenting a reliable account of this Purāṇa, which is the sole objective of the present endeavour.

As regards the printed editions of the Padma-purāṇa, I would like to mention that although its Devanāgarī recension has been printed and published on more occasions than

one (i.e., the Ānandāśrama Press Edition, Venkateśvara Press Edition, Vangavasi Press Edition, Edited by one Kedārnatha Bhaktivinod, and one belonging to Śrī gurumandala granthamāla), none of these can claim to be critical. I have gone through all these five editions and unless otherwise stated, the Ānandāśrama Edition has been used for the sake of reference.

A few words will perhaps explain the inordinate delay of the publication of this work. I had to proceed overseas when about half of its printing was done. During my stay in Europe, I came across a few manuscripts. Materials derived from these were to be incorporated in this book when I came back to India, which was responsible for further delay.

I take this opportunity to record my deep sense of gratitude to my Professor Dr Gaurinath Sastri who, in spite of his heavy pre-occupations has given me valuable suggestions and guidance whenever approached.

I have also the pleasant duty of recording my indebtedness to my revered teacher Dr Rajendra Chandra Hazra to whom I owe my introduction to the subject and initiation into Purāṇic research.

In compiling the manuscripts I was favoured with the constant assistance of Professor Dr Wilhelm Rau, Director, Indisch Ostasiatisches Seminar, Marburg University, who, during my Post Doctorate work there, read some parts of the manuscript of this work and criticised it with helpful candour.

It is also a pleasure to thank Pandit Nani Gopal Tarkatirtha, the editor, for his courtesy and care during the printing of the book.

Krishnanagar College,
March 21, 1967

ASOKE CHATTERJEE

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ABBREVIATIONS

A B O R. I	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
Anss	Ānandaśrama
Bibl Ind	Bibliotheca Indica
Cat	Catalogue
Chap	Chapter
Com	Commentary
ed	Edition
e g	For example
Ep Ind	Epigraphia Indica
E R E	Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics
fn	Foot note
fol	Folio
Govt	Government
HDS	History of Dharma Shastras
Ibid	Ibidum
I H Q	Indian Historical Quarterly
Ind Ant	Indian Antiquary
I O	India Office
J B B R R A S	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
J & K	Jammu and Kashmir
J G J R. I	Journal of the Gangānāth Jha Research Institute
J O R	Journal of Oriental Research
J U G	Journal of the University of Gauhati
Mbh	Mahābhārata
Ms	Manuscript
no	Number
N S P	Nirṇaya Sagara Press
N W	North Western
O H	Our Heritage
Opp	Oppert
-p	Purāna
p	Page
PHEI	Pheharist Saṃskṛtake Pustakōṅka
Pt	Part
P U	Punjab University
Radh	Pandit Radhakṛṣṇa of Lahore
Rām	Rāmāyana
Vang	Vaṅgavāsi
Venkaṭ	Veṅkaṭeśvara
Vs	Verse

THE ANTIQUITY AND ORIGIN OF THE PADMA-PURĀNA, AND ITS EARLY CHARACTER AND POSITION IN THE PURĀNIC LITERATURE

Among the sacred books which have greatly influenced the social and religious life of the Hindus from early times the Purānas occupy a very high position which is next only to that of the Vedas. Though, as modern research has shown, a very few of the extant Purānas can reasonably claim an early origin, the root of the Purāna literature can be traced back to the period of composition of the Vedic Samhitas. The earliest mention of purāna is found in two hymns of the *Atharva veda*, in one of which (viz., in xi 7 24) it has been said to have had the same sacred origin as that of the Rks, the Sāmans, the Metres and the Yajus formulae, and in the other (viz., in xv 6 11-12) it has been mentioned with Itihāsa. The Purāna has also been mentioned, either separately or together with Itihāsa, in many other works of the Vedic literature, viz., *Śatapatha-brahmana*, *Gopatha-brahmana*, *Jaiminiya-upaniṣad brahmana*, *Taittiriya-aranyaka*, *Bṛhadaranyaka-upaniṣad*, *Chandogya-upaniṣad*, *Sankhayana-srauta-sūtra* etc., but from the manner in which Purana and Itihāsa have been mentioned in these works, it is very difficult to form any definite idea of their nature. The joint mention of these two terms in some of the above-mentioned works seems to indicate that both of them were used in relation to stories of olden times, the word Itihāsa probably meaning ancient legends and ballads and Purāna meaning ancient tales and narratives. It seems, however, to be sure that neither of these two terms was applied in Vedic times to mean any particular class of work. In his commentary on the *Sankhayana-śrauta-sūtra* Varadattasuta Ānartīya takes the word purāna, mentioned in Sūtra xvi 2 27, to mean the Vāyu-prokta-purāna (i.e., *Vāyu-p*), but as this commentator does not come from an early date, his explanation hardly deserves any serious consideration. The fact that Nārada is

spoken to in *Atharva-veda* v. 19. 9, has led a scholar to believe that the idea of presenting Nārada as one of the interlocutors in the *Atharva-veda* was taken from the Purāṇas.¹ But however early the date of the origin of the Purāṇas of five characteristics may be pushed up, it is not possible for us in the present state of our knowledge to say that this date goes back to a period when at least some parts of the *Atharva-veda* were not composed.

The mention of Purāṇa is also found in many of the non-Vedic works. The *Rām.* of Vālmīki mentions it in a number of places², but in most of them the word purāṇa seems to refer to ancient myths and tales rather than to definite Purāṇic works. There is, of course, one vs., viz.,

purāṇaiś-caiva vedaiś-ca pañcarātrais-tathaiva vā/
dhyāyanti yogino nityam kratubhiś-ca yajanti tam//³

in which the word purāṇa has been used in the plural number definitely to mean Purāṇic works numbering more than one, but the occurrence of this vs. in the Uttara-

¹ V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, *The Purāṇa Index*, vol. I, Introduction p. xiii

² *Rām.* vi. 129.3, vii. 43.1, 47.24, 72.40

In the following two passages the word purāṇa may have been used to mean Purāṇic works.

(a) *Rām.* i. 9.1-2

etac-chrutvā rahaḥ sūto rājānam idam-abravīt/
śrūyatām tat purāṇittam purāṇe ca yathā śrutam //
ṛtvigbhir-upadiṣṭo'yaṁ purāṇitto mayā śrutah /
sanatkumāro bhagavān pūrvam kathitavān kathām //

(In the text of the Bengal recension of Vālmīki's *Rām*, as presented in Amarswar Thakur's ed. [I. 8.5-6], these two vs. have been given thus

evam ukto nṛpatinā sumantro vākyam-abravīt/
narendra śrūyatām tāvat purāṇe yan-mayā śrutam //
sanatkumāro bhagavān yathāvat proktavān purā/
bhaviṣyam viduṣām madhye tava putra-samudbhavam //

Corresio's ed., which also gives the Bengal text, reads purāṇam for purāṇe in the second line. In the editions of Bhagavad Datta and Aug. Guil. A. Schlegel, who present the North-western and Bengal texts respectively, the third line reads as follows
(sanatkumāro bhagavān purā kathitavān kathām)

(b) *Rām.* iv. 62.3

purāṇe sumahat kāryam bhaviṣyam hi mayā śrutam/
dṛṣṭam me tapasā caiva śrutvā ca viditam mama //

(T. R. Krishnacharya's ed. iv. 62.3 and Visvabandhu Shastri's ed. iv. 54.4).

³ *Rām.* vii. 43.16

For pañcarātraḥ T. R. Krishnacharya's ed. reads pañcarātraḥ.

kānda,⁴ its mention of the Pāñcarātra works, and its inclusion in a chap which has been stamped out as spurious in most of the editions⁵ of the *Rām*, greatly minimise its importance from the points of view of antiquity and authenticity.

Unlike the *Rām*., the *Mbh.* uses the word purāna as a noun very frequently, sometimes to mean its own self and sometimes to mean ancient tales and narratives. But there are a few cases in which this word has been employed to mean definite works.⁶ That the *Mbh.* knew individual Purānas in some form or other at least at certain stages of its growth, is shown not only by its indirect reference to the *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* in two vss.⁷ but also by its express mention of the *Vāyu-prokta-purāna* (i.e., *Vāyu-p.*) and the *Matsyaka-purāna* (i.e., *Matsya-p.*) with some of their contents.⁸ Although very little of these contents is to be found in the present *Vāyu-p.*⁹ and *Matsya-p.*, it can hardly be denied that these two Purānic works in their earlier forms were

⁴ From a critical analysis of the *Rām* scholars feel inclined to believe that the whole of the Uttara kāṇḍa was added to the *Rām* at a comparatively late date

⁵ See, for instance, the ed prepared by T. R. Krishnacharya (Uttara kāṇḍa, Prakṛpta Sarga 7)

⁶ *Mbh* iv 51 10a

vedantās ca purāṇāni itihāsaṃ purāṇanam //

xi 13 2

rājani-adhītā vedās-te śāstrāni vividhāni ca /

śrutāni ca purāṇāni rāja-dharmās ca kevalāḥ //

And also *Mbh* xii 294 7, 334 25, 339 106, and 341 6

⁷ *Mbh* i 2. 193

mārkaṇḍeya samāsyā ca purāṇaṃ parikṛtyate /

Mbh iii 191 35 (Poona critical ed iii 189 31)

tathā kathāṃ śubhāṃ śrutvā mārkaṇḍeyasya dhīmataḥ /

vismitāḥ samapadyanta purāṇasya nivedanāt //

It should be mentioned here that the first line (mārkaṇḍeya-samāsyā ca) does not occur in the critical text presented by the Poona ed

⁸ *Mbh* iii 191 (especially vs 16 which runs as follows)

etat te sarvaṃ-ākhyātam-atītānāgatam mayā /

vāyu proktam-anusmṛtya purāṇaṃ ṛṣi-saṃstatam //

and iii 187 (of which vss 56b-57 are as follows)

tapasā mahatā yuktaḥ so'ha sraṣṭum pracakrame //

sarvāḥ prajā manuḥ sākṣād yathāvad bharatarābha /

ity-etaṃ-mātsyakam nāma purāṇaṃ parikṛutam //

Poona critical ed iii 189 14 and iii 185 52 53a respectively

⁹ On the reference in *Mbh* iii to the *Vāyu prokta purāṇa* see V. S. Sukthankar's Introduction (p. xv) to his ed. of the *Āraṇyaka parvan* (Poona)

widely known at the time of composition of the relevant portions of the *Mbh.* The mention of individual Purāṇas by name in the *Mbh.* does not, however, mean that this work was familiar with the canon of eighteen Purāṇas. The three vss. of the Svargārohana-parvan (viz., 5. 45 and 46; and 6.97), in which the eighteen Purāṇas have been mentioned, do not occur in all the editions and mss of this work and are, consequently, of very doubtful authenticity. So also is vs. 3 of the *Harivamśa* iii. 135 which mentions the eighteen Purāṇas.

Though, as we have seen above, the evidence of the *Rām.* and the *Mbh.* regarding the pre-Christian origin of distinct works called Purāṇas is open to doubt, there are other works which prove definitely that distinct Purāṇas came into existence long before the beginning of the Christian era. The *Gautama-dharma-sūtra*, which was written probably between 600 and 400 B.C.¹⁰, does not name any particular Purāṇic work but mentions the name Purāṇa in two places,¹¹ and in at least one of them this word has been used by Gautama to mean some definite Purāṇic work or works. The *Āpastamba-dharma-sūtra*, which appears to have been written later than the Dharma-sūtra of Gautama but before 300 B.C.,¹² quotes several passages from Purāṇa and on one occasion expressly names a *Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa* which must have been an earlier prototype of the present *Bhaviṣya-p.* But the two lines, quoted by Āpastamba from the *Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa* can be traced neither in the present *Bhaviṣya-p.* nor in any of the extant Purāṇas.¹³ The line 'punah sarge bījārthā bhavanti' has its parallel in the *Vāyu-p.*,¹⁴ but from this it

¹⁰ P. V. Kane, *HDS* I p. 19

¹¹ *Gautama-dharma-sūtra* 8.6 (vākovākyetiḥāsa purāṇa-kuśalaḥ) and 11.19 (tasya ca vyavahāro vedo dharma-śāstrāṇy aṅgāṇy upavedāḥ purāṇam)

In their commentaries on the *Gautama-dharma-sūtra* both Haradatta and Māskari take the word purāṇa, used in the above-mentioned aphorisms of Gautama, to mean the *Brahma*, *Brahmāṇḍa* and other Purāṇas.

¹² Kane, *HDS* I p. 45

¹³ As early as in 1896 G. Bühler tried to trace these lines in the extant *Bhaviṣya-p.*, but his attempt did not prove fruitful. *Ind. Ant.*, 1896 pp. 323-328.

¹⁴ See *Vāyu-p.* 8.24b-pravartantu ('nte) punah sarge bījārtham ca bhavanti hi.

cannot be supposed that Āpastamba knew the *Vāyu-p.* and that in deriving the above line from it he named the *Bhaviṣya-p.* in place of the *Vāyu-p.* through mistake. Among the authors of Dharma-śāstras Manu is found to use the word purāna as a noun in the plural number,¹⁵ and, according to Medhātithi, Govindarāja, Kullūkabhatta and others, this word means the *Brahma* and other Purānas of five characteristics.¹⁶ Brhaspati, the famous author of a Dharma-śāstra drawn upon in many of the Smṛti-commentaries and Nibandhas, has a vs.¹⁷ ascribed to him, in which the Purāna has been mentioned with Dharma and Artha-śāstra to point to definite Purānic works. In the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* (1. 3) the Purāna has been included among the fourteen sources of Dharma. According to Viṇṇāneśvara and Aparārka, the famous commentators on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, the word purāna, mentioned in the said vs. of Yājñavalkya, means the *Brahma* and other Purānas.¹⁸ The Purāna has also been mentioned in three more vss. of the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*,¹⁹ and in most of them the commentators are inclined to take this word to refer to definite Purānic works.²⁰ In his *Artha-śāstra* Kautilya must have used the word purāna to mean the Purānic literature.²¹ One of his references to the Paurānika Sūta²² clearly shows that he was thoroughly conversant with the origin and duties of Sūtas who are found to play the most important part as the narrators of the extant

¹⁵ *Manu saṃhita* 3. 232

svadhyayaṇi śrāvayet pitṛye dharma śāstrani caiva hi /
ākhyānānitiḥāsānś-ca purāṇāni khilāni ca //

¹⁶ Medhātithi's commentary—purāṇāni vyāsādi prāṇitani sṛṣṭyadi varṇana-rūpāṇi, Kullukabhaṭṭa's commentary—purāṇāni brahma purāṇādini, and so on

¹⁷ pūrvāhne tam adhiṣṭhaya vṛddhāmātyānujivibhiḥ /
pasyet purāṇa-dharmārtha-śāstrani śṛṇuyat tathā //

Brhaspati smṛti 1. 1. 115

¹⁸ Viṇṇāneśvara and Aparārka's commentaries (on *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* 1. 3) —purāṇam brāhmādi (v. 1 in Aparārka's commentary—brahmādi)

¹⁹ *Yājñavalkya smṛti* 1. 45 (vakovākyaṇi purāṇam ca etc.), 1. 101 (vedātharva purāṇāni setuhasāni śaktitah etc.), and 3. 189 (yato vedāḥ purāṇāni etc.)

²⁰ Vide the commentaries of Viśvarūpa, Viṇṇāneśvara, and Aparārka

²¹ Kautilya's *Artha śāstra* 1. 5 (p. 10), iii. 7 (p. 165), v. 3 (p. 245), v. 6 (p. 257) and xiii. 1 (p. 393)

²² *Ibid* iii. 7 (p. 165)—paurāṇikas-tv-anyaś sūto māgadhaś-ca brahma kṣatrād viśeṣataḥ

Purānas. That the study of the Purānas was very popular in Kautilya's days, is clear from one of his statements which shows that persons versed in the Purānas received a salary of a thousand Paṇas²³ from the royal exchequer and thus occupied a very high position in the royal court. Kautilya's statements about the Paurānika Sūtas and Māgadhas show definitely that he knew distinct Purānic works which approached very much in nature and contents the Purānas that have come down to us. Similar interesting information about the Purānic literature is contained in Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra*, in which Bharata names a number of parts of eastern India in connection with the application of the Audra-māgadhi Pravṛtti and says that these and other parts have been spoken of in the Purānas²⁴. In another place Bharata speaks of Bhārata-varṣa as a place of work and refers to the Purānic mention of the mountains of different Varṣas (countries).²⁵ Bharata's use of the word purāna in the plural number in chap. 27 may also have been intended for referring to the Purānas as a distinct class of works²⁶.

The early origin of the Purānic literature is further proved by a number of Buddhist and Jain works. For instance, the *Lalitā-vistara*, which is called a Mahāpurāna²⁷ in one of its

²³ *Ibid* v 3 (p 247)—kārtāntika naimittika mauhūrtika paurānika-suta-māgadhāḥ purohita puruṣāḥ sarvādhyakṣāś-ca sahasrāḥ

²⁴ *Nāṭya śāstra* (NSP ed.) 13 32-35

aṅgā vaṅgāḥ kaṅgāś-ca vatsāś-caivodra māgadhāḥ /
pauṇḍra naipālikāś-caiva antargiri bahirgiriḥ //
tatra vaṅga-samā jñeyā malacā mallavarṣakāḥ /
brahmottara prabhṛtayo bhārgavā bhārgavās-tathā //
prāpautsāḥ (? prāgyoutsāḥ) pulindāś-ca vaidehāś-tāmraliptakāḥ /
prāgāḥ prāvṛtayāś-caiva yuñjanti dḍhyoddhamāgadhim (? hy-odramāgadhim) //
anye'pi deśā ebhya ye purāṇe samprakīrtitāḥ /
teṣu prayujyate hy-eti prāvṛtīs tv-audramāgadhi //

Also M. R. Kavi's ed. 13 45-48 (having many variations in readings)

²⁵ *Ibid* 18 145 (=M. R. Kavi's ed. 18 100)

ye teṣāṃ-apī vāsāḥ purāṇa vādeṣu parvatāḥ proktāḥ /
sambhogas-teṣu bhavet karmārambho bhaved-asmin //

²⁶ *Ibid* 27 58

śūrā vibhatsa raudreṣu nyuddheṣv-āhaveṣu ca /
dharmaśikhyāna purāṇeṣu vṛddhāś-tuyanti sarvadā //

²⁷ *Lalitā-vistara* (Leffman's ed.)—atha śrī lalitavistaro nāma mahāpurāṇam, another ed., (published by the Mithila Institute of Post Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit learning, Darbhanga, 1958) however, does not contain that line.

printed editions, says that the Bodhisattva was excellently qualified in various branches of knowledge including the Nigama, Purāna, Itihāsa, Veda and Vyākaraṇa,²⁸ and thus testifies to its knowledge of the existence of the Purāna literature. The *Milinda-pañha*, which claims to record the dialogue between the Greek king Menander and the Buddhist sage Nāgasena, describes the academic equipments of king Menander saying: "Many were the arts and sciences he knew—holy tradition and secular laws; the Sāmkhya, Yoga, Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems of philosophy; arithmetic; music; medicine; the four Vedas, the Purānas (purāṇa), and the Itihāsas;"²⁹ In another place it says about the brahmins thus: "Or just as the business of Brahmins and their sons is concerned with the *Rg-veda*, the *Yajur-veda*, the *Sāma-veda*, the *Atharva-veda*, with the knowledge of lucky marks (on the body), of legends, Purānas (purāṇam), lexicography,"³⁰ It is remarkable that in one of these two places the word purāna has been used in the plural number to mean the works of a particular branch of learning, and this use of the word shows the author's knowledge of the existence of more Purānas than one in his time.

Unlike the Buddhist writers the Jains wrote a number of works much in imitation of Sanskrit Purānas and styled them Purāna. The earliest of these writers is Vimala Sūri, a Jain monk, who wrote his *Pauma-cariya* during the first century A.D.³¹ and called it a Purāna on more occasions than one. Another Jain author, Ravisena by name, wrote his *Padma-p.* in Sanskrit in 678 A.D.; and Gunabhadra wrote his *Uttara-p.* during the ninth century A.D. From the titles of these works and from the nature of their contents, it is evident that the Jains became familiar with the Sanskrit Purānas of five

²⁸ *Ibid* (R. L. Mitra's ed.) chap. 12 (p. 179)

nigame purāṇe itihāse vede vyākaraṇe

sarvatra bodhisattva eva viśiṣyate sma

²⁹ *The Questions of King Milinda* (translated from the Pali by T. W. Rhys Davids) I 9 (p. 6) (Also *Milinda pañha* p. 3— cātubbedā purāṇā itihāsā . . .)

³⁰ *Ibid* iv. 3 26 (p. 247)

(Also *Milinda-pañha* p. 178— itihāsam purāṇam . . .)

³¹ H. Jacobi was of opinion that the *Pauma-cariya* was written in the third century A.D.

characteristics at least from about the beginning of the Christian era.

We have adduced above from the Vedic, Epic, Sanskrit, Buddhist and Jain literatures as much information as we could collect regarding the antiquity and nature of the Purāṇa literature. From an examination of these sources we have seen that they amply testify to the origin of this literature a few centuries before the birth of Christ, and that more Purāṇas than one had come into being in those remote days. But we could discover no such evidence as could show that the people of those days were in any way familiar with the *Padma-p.* or even with any group of eighteen Purāṇas. As a matter of fact, the origin of the canon of eighteen Purāṇas, which, as the extant lists³² show, invariably include the *Padma-p.*³³ and do not, even on a single occasion, have any substitute for it as in the case of the *Vāyu-p.*,³⁴ cannot at present be pushed up earlier than the fourth century A.D. The list of eighteen Purāṇas, contained in *Matsya-p.* 53 12-57, is to be dated between 550 and 650 A.D.,³⁵ the *Viṣṇu* list must have been revised to its present form or inserted in later days, although the *Viṣṇu-p.* itself is to be dated between 100 and 350 A.D.,³⁶ chap. 137 of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.*, which contains a list of eighteen Purāṇas, does not occur in all the editions and is, consequently, of doubtful authenticity; and *Vāyu-p.*, chap. 104, giving a somewhat different list,

³² For references to the Purāṇas containing these lists—R. C. Hazra, *Purāṇic Records* p. 13 (fn. 13), M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature* I p. 531 (fn. 1), O.H., vol. I, part I, 1953 p. 48 (fn. 15)

³³ It is only the list of Purāṇas contained in *Skanda-p.* vii (Prabhāsa khaṇḍa) 1 2 5-7 which does not mention the name of the *Padma-p.* As this list names seventeen Purāṇas and not eighteen, and as the *Padma-p.* has been included among the eighteen Purāṇas described in vss. 28-76 of the same chap. of the *Skanda-p.*, it is sure that the omission of the name of the *Padma-p.* in the said list is due to a mistake

³⁴ Of the numerous lists of eighteen Purāṇas some name the *Śiva-p.* or *Śaiva* in place of the *Vāyu-p.* or *Vayasya*, some name both the *Śiva-p.* and the *Vāyu-p.* in exclusion of the *Brahmāṇḍa-p.*, and some name the *Vāyu-p.* and the *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* and not the *Śiva-p.* See, for instance, *Kurma-p.* i. 1 13-15, *Varāha-p.* 112 69-92, *Viṣṇu-p.* iii 6 22 ff., *Linga-p.* i 39 61 ff., *Bhāgavata-p.* xii. 7 23 ff., *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* 137 8 ff. and *Śiva-p.* i. 1 38 ff., *Skanda-p.* vii. 1 2, 5-72, and so on.

³⁵ R. C. Hazra, *Purāṇic Records* pp. 39-42

³⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 19-24

was added to the Purāṇa very late³⁷ However, the evidence of the *Matsya-p* shows that the *Padma p* must have originated in some form or other not later than the beginning of the seventh century A D This date is further pushed up by another piece of evidence contained in *Matsya p* 53-59,³⁸ in which the *Narasimha-p* has been attached to the *Padma p* as one of its parts (upabhedā) The manner in which these two Purāṇic works have been interrelated, shows that by the sixth or seventh century A D the *Padma p* attained wide recognition so much so that an early, originally independent and highly authoritative Purāṇa like the *Narasimha*³⁹ could be assigned to it for the sake of authority The earlier origin of the *Padma p* is further evidenced by Ravisenā's work entitled *Padma p*, which, as we have already said, was written in 678 A D From the title of this work and from its treatment of the legend of Rāma Daśarathī, whom it has named as Padma, we may assume that the Hindu *Padma p* with a Rāma legend attained great popularity in Ravisenā's time, or even earlier as the title (*Paṭma-cariya*) and subject matter of Vimala Suri's work seem to indicate So, we may assume that our *Padma p* came into being not later than the third or fourth century A D It is probable that the work originated much earlier It should be mentioned here that the early date, to which we are inclined to assign the *Padma p*, is not to be taken to be that of all the chaps found in it at present From an examination of its constituent parts we shall see that this work has undergone changes and modifications at different times and that, in its present form, it consists of chaps and vss written in widely distant periods

The early origin of the extant *Padma p* finds strong

³⁷ *Ib d* pp 90-91

³⁸ The text of this vs is as follows

upabhedān pravakṣyām loke ye samprat śiḥ tād /
pādme purāṇe tatroktam narasimhopavarṇanam /
tac cāṣṭādaśa sāhasraṃ nārasimham hocyate //

³⁹ This work which was drawn upon profusely by a large number of Smṛti-commentators and Nibandha writers was written between 400 and 500 A D A B O R I
xxvi 1945 pp 12-88

support in its association with the pre-Tāntric Brahmā-sect which is prominently reflected in the few chaps retained in its Srsti-khanda from an earlier form of this work. As a matter of fact, the extant *Padma-p* in its earlier, if not original, form belonged to the Brahmā-sect, and it is for this reason that the *Saura-p* (9 19) says "One, who gives the *Pādma* (*purana*) on the day of the (divine) preceptor (Brhaspati) to a twice-born man learned in the Vedas, with the intention (of offering it) to Brahmā, attains the result of the Jyotistoma (sacrifice) ⁴⁰"

According to the Tamil lexicon *Pingalandai*, as V R Ramachandra Dikshitar informs us,⁴¹ Brahmā was the predominating deity of the *Padma-p*. The title *Padma p* for this work and the name Puskara-parvan given to that part of it which is now known as the Srsti-khanda, also seem to indicate the original connection of this work with the Brahmā-worshippers, the Padma (lotus) being said to have been the source of origin of Brahmā as a personal god and Puskara being the name of the place with which this god has been connected from very early times. That the sect of Brahma originated very early and was active even in the days of Varahamihira, admits of little doubt, although very few records of their ideas and activities have been left behind by these sectaries. In his *Brhat samhita* (60 19) Varāhamihira names the most popular sects and sectaries of his time, and these include the Brahmā-worshippers, who were called Vipras,⁴² the *Matsya p* and the *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* deal with the construction and worship of the image of Brahmā,⁴³ there is a widely popular tradition recorded in various works

⁴⁰ padmam brahmaṇam uddīśya yo dadati guror-dine /
dvijāya veda viduse jyotiṣtoma phalam labhet //

⁴¹ I H Q viii 1932 p 766

⁴² viṣṇor bhāgavatān māgamaś-ca savituh śambhoḥ śabhasma-dvijan
mātrpām api mātṛ maṇḍalā vidō viprañ vidūr-brāhmaṇaḥ /
śakyān sarva hitasya śanta manaso nagnan jñānaṁ vidur
ye yam devam upaśṛitaḥ sva vidhīnā taiḥ-tasya karyā kriyā //

⁴³ *Matsya-p* 260 40-44 and 267 37 and 39 *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* iii 46

Matsya-p chaps. 260 and 267 were written between 550 and 650 A.D. (R.C. Hazra, *Puranic Records* p 47) and the *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* is to be dated between 400 and 500 A.D. (*J U G*, vol 11 1952 p 58)

which says that Brahmā was the god of the Kṛta age (brahmā kṛta-yuge devaḥ) and preceded both Viṣṇu and Śiva;⁴⁴ in the first few centuries of the Christian era Brahmā was included in the group of five or six deities worshipped by the forerunners of the later Smārtas who worshipped the five deities called pañcāyatana; there are references in the Purāṇas to the prevalence of Brahmā-worship in the early centuries of the Christian era and to the rivalry which the Vaisnavas and Śaivas had with the Brahmā-worshippers;⁴⁵ in his *Nyāya-kusumāñjali* Udayanācārya says that to the Purāṇa-writers the principal god was Pitāmaha (i.e., Brahmā);⁴⁶ and in his *Nāṭya-śāstra* Bharata assigns the highest place to Brahmā, as it is this god who is said to have occupied the topmost position in the flag-staff called Jarjara.⁴⁷ These and similar other evidences in favour of the wide popularity of Brahmā-worship are supported by a large number of images of Brahmā found in different parts of the country. As a matter of fact, the sect of Brahmā was one of those which attained great prominence in ancient India and had Purāṇas of their own for the effective propagation of their sectarian ideas, the other powerful sects being those of the Pāñcarātras, Pāśupatas, Bhāgavatas and Sauras

It is very difficult to say where the extant *Padma-p.* first came into being. The way in which the Puskara-tīrtha has been glorified and connected with Brahmā in the *Mbh*

⁴⁴ brahmā kṛta yuge devas-tretāyāṃ bhagavān raviḥ /
dvāpare bhagavān viṣṇuḥ kalau devo maheśvaraḥ //

ascribed to the *Skanda p.* in Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintamani* iii p 659 For other vs. ibid pp 661 ff

⁴⁵ *Matsya p.* chaps 274 ff (in which there are instructions for the worship of images of Brahmā in different Mahādānas), 265 4 (which states that a priest is to be brahmopendra hara priya) and 266 39 (according to which Brāhma mantras are to be used in consecrating an image of Brahmā), *Kurma p.* i 2 104 (in which it is said that those who take recourse to Brahmā should always bear the sectarian mark on the forehead), i 28 19 (in which Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Surya have been said to be worshipped in the Kali age) and ii 18 90-91 and 26 39 (which contain directions for the worship of Brahmā), and so on

⁴⁶ *Nyāya kusumāñjali* śabaka 1 (p 4)—iha yady api yaṃ kam api puruṣārtham-
arīhayamānāḥ pitāmaha ita paurāṇikāḥ upāsate tasmān
bhagavatu bhavē sandeha eva kutaḥ ? Also Bibl Ind ed, 1890 p 16

⁴⁷ *Nāṭya śāstra* i 59

and other works including the *Padma-p.* it appears that this Purāṇa was first composed by the Brahmā-worshippers of Puskara and that with the growing popularity of this deity, the *Padma-p.* also attained greater recognition, so much so that it tempted the Vaisnavas to appropriate this work in later times to propagate their own ideas through it.

The *Padma-p.*, as we have it now, is a voluminous work consisting of extensive parts called Khandas, which are five in number in the Bengal recension, viz., Srsti-khanda, Bhūmi-khanda, Svarga-khanda, Pātāla-khanda and Uttara-khanda. In the South Indian (or rather Devanāgarī) recension, which has been published by the Anss Press (Poona), Venkat Press (Bombay), Vang. Press (Calcutta) and Śrī-gurumandala-granthamālā and also edited by Kedaranatha Bhaktivinoda (Calcutta), this work is found to have six Khandas, in which the Svarga-khanda of the Bengal recension has been replaced by the Ādi-khanda (called Svarga-khanda in the Venkat. and Vang. Press editions and also in that of Kedaranatha Bhaktivinoda) and the Brahma-khanda. Although the names of the Khandas in the Anss, and other printed editions do not in all cases agree with those in the Bengal recension and the arrangement of the Khandas is found to be quite different in the Anss ed., there are many vss. in these five printed editions as well as in Bengal mss. which name the Khandas exactly in the same way and in the same order as those in the Bengal recension. In addition to the Khandas already mentioned there are numerous treatises which, though being originally independent, claim to be parts of the *Padma-p.* It is due to this huge bulk of this Purāṇa, which must have begun to grow in extent from a fairly early date, that the *Matsya*, *Vāyu* and some other Purāṇas state that the *Padma-p.* consisted of 55000 śloka.⁴⁸ Even the *Padma-p.* itself claims to have this extent. But a careful examination of the present *Padma-p.* will show that originally this work consisted neither of such a huge bulk nor of distinct parts called Khandas. As to the

⁴⁸ See *Matsya-p.* 53 14, *Vāyu-p.* 104 9, *Bhāgavata-p.* xii 134, *Skanda-p.* V iii, (Revā khaṇḍa) 1.32 and vii 1 2 31, *Brahma-vaivarta-p.* IV 133 11, and so on

names of the different parts of the *Padma-p* and the subject-matters dealt with in them, the *Srsti-khanda* has a few very interesting vss., in which Sūta says:

“brahmanābhihitam pūrvam yāvan-mātram
 etad-eva ca vai brahmā pādmam loke jagāda vai/
 sarva-bhūtāśrayam tac-ca pādmam-ity-ucyate
 pādmam tat pañca-pañcāśat sahasrāṇiha pathyate/
 pañcabhih parvabhih proktam samksepād vyāsa-
 pauskaram prathamam parva yatrotpannah svayam
 dvitīyaṃ tīrtha-parva syāt sarva-graha-gaṇāśrayam/
 tritīya-parva-grahanā rājāno bhūri-dakṣiṇāh/
 vaṃśānucaritam caiva caturthe parikīrtitam/
 pañcame mokṣa-tattvam ca sarva-tattvam nigadyate/
 pauskare navadhā sṛstih sarvesāṃ brahma-kāritā/
 devatānām muninām ca pītr-vargas-tathāparah/
 dvitīye parvatās-caiva dvīpāḥ sapta ca sāgarāḥ/
 tritīye rudra-sargas-tu dakṣa-śāpas-tathaiva ca/
 caturthe sambhavo rājñām sarva-vaṃśānukīrtanam/
 antye’pavarga-samsthānam mokṣa-śāstrānukīrta-
 sarvam-etat purāṇe’smin kathayisyāmi vo dvijāḥ”/

Similar vss also occur in a text called Puskara-māhātmya which claims to belong to the Padma-purāna-

* *Padma-p*, Śṛṣṭi khaṇḍa, Vaṅg ed 1 58b-66 (=Veṅkaṭ ed 1 58b-66=Ans ed 1 52b-60) For these vss see also Kedarānatha Bhaktivinoda's ed chap 1 p 3 The readings of these vss in the ed agree with those of the Ans ed

Though the text of this passage, as given in the Vang and Venkaṭ editions is better than that given in the Anss ed we have preferred the reading vyāsa kāraṇāt, (in line 5) of the Anss ed to vyāsa kārītāt of the other two editions

The Vañg and Venkaṭ editions give the same text of the above extract.

The above vs also occur in the Bengal mss of the *Sṛṣṭi khaṇḍa*. See, for instance *Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat* (Calcutta) ms no 755, fol 3a, chap 1 (v l *vyāsa karitaḥ* in line 5, *sarva tirtha guṇāśrayam* for the second half of line 7, and *tṛtīyaṃ parva svargaś-ca* for the first half of line 8, inserts the following line after line 16 *brahma gītānukathanam pancame'py anukīrtanam*)

samuccaya and in which one Brhadbala says to Vasistha:

“bhagavān pauskariyam tu purānam padma-
 samjñitam/
 etad vai pañca-pañcāśat-sahasrāṇi nu padyate
 (sahasrāṇiha pathyate ?) //
 pañcabhih parvabhih proktam samksepād vyāsa-
 kārītāt/
 prathamam pauskaram parva yatrotpannaḥ svayam
 virāt //
 dvitīyam tīrtha-parvatrā (?) sarva-graha-
 ganāśrayam/
 trtiyo rudra-sargaś-ca dakṣa-śāpas-tathaiva ca //
 vamsānucaritam caiva caturtham parikīrtitam/
 pañcamam mokṣa-tattvam ca sarvajñatvam
 nigadyate //
 anenānukramenedaṃ purānam samprakāśate” // ⁵⁰

From the statements made by Sūta and Brhadbala in the vss quoted above and also from two others, in one of which a part of the *Padma-p.* has been mentioned as a parvan⁵¹ and in the other the entire *Padma-p.* has been said to have consisted of five Parvans (pañca-parva-samanvitam),⁵² we gather the following details about the *Padma-p.* in its earlier form:

(1) This Purāna was originally spoken out by Brahmā to Marīci, and it consisted of 55000 ślokaś.

(2) For Vyāsa’s sake it was spoken out (by Marīci or Nārada ?) *briefly* in five parts called Parvans.

(3) Of these five Parvans, (a) the first, viz., Pauskara-parvan, dealt with the origin of Virāj, Brahmā’s ninefold creation, and the Pitrs of the gods, sages and men; (b) the second, called Tīrtha-parvan, dealt with all the planets (in the sky) and the mountains, continents and seven oceans

⁵⁰ Puṣkara-māhātmya (Asiatic Society [Calcutta] ma. no. G 8348) chap 37, fol 98a.

⁵¹ *Padma-p.*, Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa 2 58a (=Vaṅg ed 2 57b and Venkaṭ ed 2 58b, both of which read the line as parva vāpy-atha parvārdham samagraṃ vā prabhāṣitam) For this line see also Kedaranatha Bhakṭavinoda’s ed chap 2 p 5

⁵² Puṣkara-māhātmya chap 37 fol. 98a—mama nāradenoktam pañca parva-samanvitam

(on the surface of the earth); (c) the third contained the accounts of those kings who paid large sums of money as priestly fees, and also treated of the creation by Rudra and the curse of Dakṣa; (d) the fourth dealt with the origin of kings and with the history of all the royal families; and (e) the fifth treated of the nature of final liberation and the way of attaining it.

That the *Padma-p.*, in its earlier form with the Parva division and with Brahmā and Marīci as interlocutors, was a much shorter work, is shown not only by one of the vss. quoted above (in which the *Padma-p.* is said to have been spoken out *briefly in five Parvas*) but also by the spurious *Agni-p* and the Bhūmi-khaṇḍa of the present *Padma-p.* Of these two works the former gives the extent of the *Padma-p.* as twelve thousand ślokaś, ⁵³ and the latter says that it consisted of one lac and twentyfive thousand ślokaś in the Kṛta-yuga, fiftytwo thousand ślokaś in the Tretā-yuga, twentytwo thousand ślokaś in the Dvāpara, and *twelve thousand ślokaś in the Kali-yuga*, that it contained the same meaning and the same idea in all the four ages and had *a very extensive speech of Śeṣa*, that *the entire Purāna of twelve thousand ślokaś would perish in the Kali age, and that this work would again come into being for the first time (in that age)* ⁵⁴

⁵³ *Agni-p* 272 2

vaśākhyāṃ paurnamāsyāṃ ca svargārthī jala-dhenumat /
pādman dvādaśa-sāhasraṃ jyaiṣṭhe dadyāc-ca dhenumat //

⁵⁴ *Padma-p.*, Bhūmi khaṇḍa 125. 39-45

sapādaṃ lakṣam-ekaṃ tu brahmākhyāṃ puṣkaraṃ śṛṇu /
kṛte yuge tu nispāpāḥ śṛṇvanti manuṣā dvijāḥ //
lakṣasyārdhaṃ tataḥ kṛtsnaṃ purāṇaṃ padma-saṃjñakam /
ślokānāṃ tu sahasrābhyāṃ dvābhyāṃ-eva tathādhikam //
tretā yuge tathā prāpte śṛṇvanti manuṣā dvijāḥ /
caturvarga phalaṃ bhuktṛṇā te yāsyanti harim punaḥ //
dvāvīṃśati-sahasrānāṃ saṃhitā padma-saṃjñakā /
dvāpare kathitā vipra brahmaṇā paramātmajā //
dvādaśaiva sahasrāṇāṃ padmākhyāṃ ca susaṃhitām /
kalau yuge paṭhyanti mānuṣā viṣṇu-tatparāḥ //
eko'rthaś caika bhāvaś-ca caturv-apī pravartitāḥ /
saṃhitāsv apī viprendrāḥ śeṣākhyāna-pravistarāḥ //
dvādaśaiva sahasrāṇi nāśaṃ yāsyanti sattamāḥ /
kalau yuge tu saṃprāpte prathamam hi bhaviṣyati //

For these vss see Vaṅg ed 125 39b-46a and Veṅkaṭ ed 125 40-46 Both these editions have the following variations in reading 'dvija' for 'dvijāḥ' in line

So, it is evident that the *Padma-p.* in its earlier form, was much shorter, and that the present voluminous work of the same title is practically a new one having little in common with its earlier prototype and lacking any interlocation between Brahmā and Marici. It is, however, not asserted that the shorter text of the *Padma-p.* was not preceded by any other text of the same work which is no longer available to us. From the statement of the Bhūmi-khanda (as well as the Uttara-khanda of the Bengal recension) referred to above and from a critical analysis of the present text of the *Padma-p.*, it appears that the *Padma-p.* has come down to us through a number of stages in which this work was subjected to destructive recasts by various sectaries.

2, 'yadā śroṣyantu mānavāḥ' for the second half of line 5, 'dvāviṃśati-sahasrāṇi saṃhitā padma-saṃjñitā' for line 7, 'padmākhyā sā tu saṃhitā' for the second half of line 9, 'mānavā' for 'mānuṣā' in line 10, 'eva viprendrāḥ' for 'api viprendrāḥ' in line 12, and 'sattama' for 'sattamāḥ' in line 13.

Also in Kedarānatha Bhaktivinoda's ed. chap. 82 p. 801. For line 8, this ed. reads 'dharmākhyā kathyate śidhu dvāparaśya mahāmate'. Otherwise it strictly follows the readings of the Ansa. ed. It is clear that the text of the above extract, as given in the Vaṅg and Venkaṭ editions, is better than that presented by the Ansa. ed.

The above *vs.* also occur in the Bengal *ms.* of the Uttara-khaṇḍa with the following modifications in lines 7-14:

dvāviṃśat-ca sahasrāṇi saṃhitā padma-saṃjñikā /
dharmākhyā kathyate sā tu dvāparaśya dvijaśabhāḥ //
tato dvāpara-śreṣṭhe tu bhagavān bīdarīyaṇaḥ /
ślokanāṃ pañca pañcāśat sahasrāṇi dayā parāḥ //
pūrayāṃsā 'lokānāṃ huṡya paramārthataḥ /
dvādaśāḥ sahasrāṇi pāṇḍrāpahṛtāni vai //
kalau nīlāṃ prayāsyantu prathamāṃ dvija-sattamāḥ /
vinā dvādaśa-sahasra padmāny-api mahāphalam //
kalau yuge paṭhyāsyantu purāṇaṃ padma-saṃjñakam /
pañca pañcāśatāṃ dhīrāḥ sahasrāṇi yathā phalam /
nyūnair-api phalam viprāḥ-tathasva janayisyati //

Padma-p., Uttara-khaṇḍa, Asiatic Society (Calcutta) *ms.* no. G 4416, fol. 365b.

Of these *vs.* of the Uttara-khaṇḍa, lines 1 and 3-5 are found to occur in one of the four Bengal *ms.* of the Bhūmi-khaṇḍa we have consulted. See Asiatic Society (Calcutta) *ms.* no. G 4423 fol. 233b.

These *vs.* tell us (i) that the *Padma-p.* consisted of 32000 ślokas in the Dvāpara age, (ii) that for the good of the world Bīdarīyaṇa would again make it into a work of 55000 ślokas towards the end of Dvāpara, (iii) that, being taken away by the Pāṇḍras in the Kali age, 12000 of its ślokas would perish, (iv) that in the Kali age people would read the *Padma-p.* lacking these 12000 ślokas, and (v) that the study of this shortened *Padma-p.* would yield the same benefit as that of the longer treatise of 55000 ślokas.

It is to be noted that though the writer of these *vs.* made an attempt to give the present amplified text of the *Padma-p.* a garb of greater antiquity, he has not denied the loss of the 12000 ślokas belonging to this work.

The division of the *Padma-p* into parts called Parvans is nothing new but has its parallel in the *Bhaviṣya-p* which is found in its printed ed to have four parts called Brāhma-parvan, Madhyama-parvan, Pratisarga-parvan and Uttara-parvan, and is said in two of its vss as well as in a chap of the *Nāradya-p* to have consisted of five Parvans, viz, Brāhma, Vaisnava, Śaiva, Tvāstra (or Saura according to the *Naradya-p*) and Pratisarga.⁵⁵ It is highly probable that like the *Vāyu-p* as well as the *Brahmānda-p*, which, though having a continuous numbering of its chaps, is divided into four Pādas (viz, Prakriya, Anusanga, Upodghāta and Upasamhara), the shorter text of the *Padma-p* also had its chaps divided into a number of groups called Parvans in accordance with the topics dealt with in them, although it had a continuous treatment of its subject-matters and numbered its chaps continuously.

In some treatises claiming to belong to the *Padma-p* there is mention of a Pūrva-bhāga and an Uttara-bhaga of the latter.⁵⁶ As we do not know of any text of the *Padma-p*, or of any of its parts, as consisting of two Bhāgas called Pūrva and Uttara, and as there is no reference to such division of the *Padma-p* anywhere except in the treatises mentioned above, we cannot say definitely that like the *Vayu-p*⁵⁷ the *Padma-p* also had its Parvans divided into two groups in some mss and that these groups formed the two Bhāgas of the work. It may be that the authors of these treatises used the names Uttara-bhāga and Pūrva bhāga to mean the Uttara-khanda and the rest of the *Padma-p* respectively.

From the evidence of the Bhūmi-khanda referred to above, we come to know that the four Samhitās of the

⁵⁵ *Bhaviṣya-p* 1. 2. 2. 3. *Naradya-p* 1. 100

According to *Saura-p* ix. 9 and *Skanda-p* V. 11 (Revā-khanda) 1. 34b-35a the *Bhaviṣya-p* consists of four Parvans.

⁵⁶ The colophons of the Kadal-pura-māhātmya (chap. 1—iti śrī padma purāṇe pūrva bhāge śrī rāma māhātmya-saṁvāde kadalipura-māhātmye prathamodhyāyaḥ—A. B. Keith I.O. Cat. vol. II no. 6620) and Veda-sāra-sahasra-nāma-stotra (colophon—iti śrī padma purāṇe pañca-pancāśat-sāhasrikāyāṁ saṁhātāyāṁ uttara bhāge—Shastri Cat. vol. V nos. 3491-92 and 3495 pp. 219-221).

⁵⁷ For the works referring to the two Bhāgas of the *Vayu-p* see O.H. vol. I part I 1953 p. 50.

Padma-p. during the four Yugas contained long speeches of Śesa. So, we may presume that in the earlier form or forms of this work Śesa was the principal speaker and that he spoke on the various topics (viz., creation, celestial and terrestrial geography, accounts of royal dynasties etc.) dealt with in its different Parvans. That our presumption is not baseless, is shown by the present texts of the *Padma-p.*, which have mention of the interlocution between Śesa and Vātsyāyana on more occasions than one, although these texts have very little in common with their earlier prototypes. For example, in the Bengal mss. the Bhūmi-khaṇḍa has, towards its end, a few chaps. which begin with Vātsyāyana's question to Śesa as to the extent of the earth and the numbers of the heavens and the nether worlds,⁵⁸ and in which Śesa is found to speak to Vātsyāyana on bhūmi-samsthāna⁵⁹; the Svarga-khaṇḍa of the Bengal mss., which has been spoken out by Sūta as an interlocution between Śesa and Vātsyāyana, begins with Sūta's reference to Śesa's speech to Vātsyāyana on terrestrial geography (bhūgola)⁶⁰; and the Pātāla-khaṇḍa, as occurring in the printed editions and the Bengal mss., has Śesa and Vātsyāyana as the principal interlocutors and contains a few vss.⁶¹ in which the following topics have been mentioned by Sūta as already narrated by Śesa to Vātsyāyana:

Process of creation and destruction of the world;

⁵⁸ Asiatic Society (Calcutta) ms. no. G 4517, fol. 208b—vatsyayana uvāca
kīyat pramāṇam bhū khaṇḍam svargāś-ca katu bhūdhara /
pātālāni ca kāṇiḥa kṛpayā tad vadasva naḥ //

⁵⁹ Ibid, fol. 208a ff

⁶⁰ Svarga khaṇḍa (Dacca University ms. no. 1625) chap. 1, vss. 1-3 sūta uvāca

• śeṣa bhāṣitam-ākārṇya tathā bhugola varṇanam /
pitā me punar-āprechat praṇato bādarāyaṇam //
sa nūmya tu bhugolaṁ munir vātsyāyanaḥ punaḥ /
kim-aprechat-śeṣa nāgaṁ tad bhavān vaktum-arhatu //

vyāsa uvāca

bhuvā mānam nūmyātha kṛtāṅjali puṣṭo munir /
bhūdharam devam āprechan natā vātsyāyanaḥ punaḥ //

⁶¹ *Padma-p.*, Pātāla-khaṇḍa (Anm., Venkaṭ and Vaṅg editions) l. 3-7. Also ed. Kedaranatha Bhaktivinoda, chap. I p. 957 (no. v l).

These vss. also occur in the Bengal mss. of the Pātāla khaṇḍa. See Asiatic Society (Calcutta) ms. no. G 1416 A, chap. 29 (fol. 62a b)

terrestrial geography, celestial geography, information about the circles of luminaries (i.e., the planets and stars), accounts of kings, including those of the solar dynasty, and the Rāma-legend narrated in brief

Although the *Padma-p* in its present form is found to have the early chaps on geography etc replaced by those of later origin, its reference to and also retention of Śesa and Vatsyāyana as interlocutors in some places and its orderly mention of the topics spoken out by Śesa, establish the truth in the statement of the Bhūmī khanda referred to above and also in that of the Sṛṣṭi khanda regarding the contents of the different Parvans of the *Padma-p*. The absence of any reference to Śesa or Vātsyayana in the Sṛṣṭi-khanda may be due either to their first appearance as interlocutors in a subsequent Parvan of the *Padma-p* or to their first introduction in some form of this work which immediately preceded the present one.

We do not know definitely when and how the *Padma p* came to be divided into parts called Khandas. The Bengal mss and the Anss ed of the Sṛṣṭi-khanda do not contain any mention of the division of this work into Khandas, although they have vss on its Parva division,⁶² and the nine lines of the Venkat and the Vang editions,⁶³ which immediately precede the vss on the Parva division of the *Padma p* and name the five Khandas of this work, occur neither in the Anss ed nor in the Bengal mss. So, it is evident that the division of the *Padma p* into Khandas was a later development. The mention in these lines of the Venkat and Vang editions that the entire *Padma-p* of five Khandas and 55000 ślokas was pure with the glorification of Viṣṇu (viṣṇu-māhātmya-nirmalam) and that Hari spoke out this Purāna to Brahmā (devadevo harir-yad vai brahmane proktavān purā) tends to indicate that it was the Viṣṇu worshippers who magnified the *Padma p* with repeated additions and modifications and divided it into five distinct

⁶² For these vss. see fn 49

⁶³ Venkaṭ and Vaṅg editions 1 54 58a

khanda. So, the Khanda division of this work seems to be intimately connected with the rise of its longer version.

It has already been said that the Jain authors named Rāma Dīśarathi as Padma or Pauma and wrote Purāṇas and also similar other works characterised as Purāṇas on the legend of Rāma. The titles *Padma carita* of Vimala Suri (which its author calls a Purana on more occasions than one) and *Padma purana* of Ravisena and the elaborate treatment of the Rāma legend in these, tend to indicate that the Hindu *Padma p* had incorporated an extensive Rāma legend which had attained a great popularity even before the time of Vimala Suri, and that the Jain authors tried to spread their religious views by taking full advantage of the popularity of this work as well as its Rāma legend which was the main cause of its reputation. So, it appears that the *Padma p* had passed into the hands of the Viṣṇu worshippers and begun to be modified and increased in bulk from about the beginning of the Christian era, if not earlier, and this early beginning of the longer version of this work and its connection with the Viṣṇu worshippers find support not only in the *Matsya*, *Skanda* and other Purāṇas which give its extent as 55000 slokas but also in the assignment of the *Narasimha p*, a purely Vaiṣṇava work, to the *Padma p* as one of its sub-sections (upabhedas). But unfortunately this longer version also has not come down to us in its original form. From our analysis of the different parts of the present *Padma p* we shall see that this version also was subjected to recasts on more occasions than one, and the chapters on the pre-Tīntric Brahmi worship, which are now found in the *Sṛṣṭi khanda*, were put in or revised by the members of the Brahmi sect at a comparatively late period.

We have already referred to the connection of the Vaiṣṇavas with the present *Padma p* and also to the wide popularity of this work from early times. As a matter of fact the Vaiṣṇavas have been utilising this work very zealously for many centuries for the effective propagation of their own religious views. With the rise of various new sects among them they modified and often changed its text and added

new chaps to it. They also composed new and independent treatises and gave them out to be parts of the *Padma-p*. The wide reputation, which the Vaisnavas thus earned for this work, encouraged the members of various non-Vaisnava sects, viz, Śaiva, Śākta, Tāntric-Brahma etc, to take advantage of it for their own sectarian interest. Like the Vaisnavas they also lay their hands on the text of this work according to their own necessity in different climes and ages and ascribed many of their new compositions to it for the sake of authority. Thus, with the progress of time the longer version of the *Padma p* went on growing in bulk, so much so that its present extent *must have far exceeded* 55000 slokas.

The zealous and repeated interference of the various sectaries, especially the Vaisnavas, with the text of the *Padma p* in different climes and ages made this work have considerable textual difference in different parts of India and in course of time gave rise to two distinct recensions, viz, Bengal and Devanāgarī. The former, which is still preserved in Bengal mss written almost invariably in Bengali scripts⁶⁴ and has not yet been printed, consists of five parts called Khandas, viz, Sṛṣṭi, Bhūmi, Svarga, Pātāla and Uttara. But the Devanāgarī recension, as has already been said, has been published by the Anss Press (Poona), Venkat Press (Bombay), Śrī-guru-mandala-granthamālā and Vang Press (Calcutta) and also by Kedaranatha Bhaktivinoda (Calcutta). In the first three of these editions, this recension has six Khandas including the Ādi and the Brahma-khanda which are entirely different from the Svarga-khanda of the Bengal recension, although the Ādi-khanda has been named as Svarga-khanda in the Venkat ed. In the last two editions, on the other hand, the *Padma p* has been divided into five Khandas of which the Svarga khanda has the same text as those of the Ādi and the Brahma-khanda of the other two editions⁶⁵. The Venkat and Vang editions as

⁶⁴ So far as we have been able to find there is only one ms written in Devanāgarī script which records the text of the Sṛṣṭi khaṇḍa of the Bengal recension. (For this ms see Eggeling I O Cat. vi p 1214 no 3380)

⁶⁵ The Brahma khaṇḍa has also been printed separately by the Vang Press Calcutta.

well as that of Kedaranatha Bhaktivinoda include the Kriyā-yoga-sāra, an independent work of Bengal, as one of their Khandas following the Uttara-khanda

CHAPTER II

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE PADMA-PURĀNA IN THE DEVANĀGARĪ RECENSION

From a comparatively early period the *Padma p* has been utilised by different sectarian elements as the channel of their views. As various new sects came into being, it changed its colour and contents for the effective propagation of their views. Many new chaps. were added to it. If the definition of a Purāna as stated by Amarasimha in his lexicon is taken into serious consideration, the whole of the Uttara-khanda of the *Padma-p* becomes meaningless, for it remarkably lacks the traditional characteristics of a Purana. Even if it be conceded that the five characteristics are meant for the upapurānas and not the mahāpurānas which are to have ten characteristics,¹ still this Khanda can hardly justify itself to be the part of a Purāna. It does not contain any such characteristic as creation, re creation etc. This Khanda is only a conglomeration of glorifications and legends which have no causal connection with the main bulk of the *Padma p*. The present Pātala-khanda which is totally a later production (as will be shown presently) is the outcome of the efforts of the Rāmaites. Here Rāma has been deified and conceived of as Visnu incarnate. Sītā has been identified with Laksmī. One can attain final salvation if one utters the name of Rāma. Thus although it will be a matter of extreme difficulty to state which of the particular sects are responsible for one or more than one Khanda, and no water-tight divisions can be made in this respect, one thing cannot be gainsaid in that it is the different religious movements like the Vedic (comprising Śrauta and Smarta), anti-Vedic (Jainism, Ājīvikism and Buddhism), semi-Vedic (consisting mainly of Vaisnavism, Śaivism and Brahmāism) and non-Vedic (Śaktism)² which either separately or in collaboration can safely claim

¹ For ten characteristics relating to society, religion and cosmogony see *Brahma-sūtra* p. iv 131 6-10. Also *Bhagavata-p* II 9 42 II 10 1 XII 7 8f.

² R. C. Hazra *Purāṇic Records* p. 193.

to contribute to this present form and development of the *Padma-p.* Thus it is obvious that the different Khandas (which are five in number in the Bengal recension and six in the South Indian recension) have not come down to us in their early incorporations

In the present chap we should limit our discussion to determining the constitution of the *Padma-p.* in the Devanāgarī recension, i.e., to the critical analysis of the texts of the different Khandas and the different strata constituting each of these Khandas.

(1) THE ŚRĪ-KHAṆḌA

The Śrī-khaṇḍa is assigned the fifth place among the Khandas in the Anss. ed. of the *Padma-p.*, whereas it occupies the first place in the Venkat. and Vang. editions as well as in those published from Calcutta, one being edited by Kedaranatha Bhaktivinoda and the other belonging to Śrī-Guru-maṇḍala-granthamālā. The determination of the proper place of the Śrī-khaṇḍa among the constituent parts of the *Padma-p.* is not as difficult as it appears to be at first sight. The Vang. and Venkat. Press editions expressly say that at the beginning there is the Śrī-khaṇḍa.³ This is supported by the Bhūmi-khaṇḍa⁴ which while enumerating the list of the Khandas, awards the first position to the Śrī-khaṇḍa. That vs. of the Bhūmi-khaṇḍa occurs in all the Bengal mss. also. The Uttara-khaṇḍa⁵ of the *Padma-p.* also expressly places the Śrī-khaṇḍa first in the enumeration of the Khandas. The contrary evidence of the Ādi-khaṇḍa,⁶ however, need not be taken into serious consideration. The

³ tatrādaś śrī-khaṇḍam aśvād

Śrī-khaṇḍa (Vang. and Venkat. editions) l. 55a.

Thus and some of the following vs. occur neither in the Anss. ed. nor in the Bengal mss.

⁴ *Padma-p.*, Bhūmi-khaṇḍa 125-48

⁵ Uttara-khaṇḍa l. 66.

⁶ Ādi-khaṇḍa l. 21b-22a.

mahasam pañca pañcāśat padhūb khaṇḍaib samavṛtam//

tatrādiv-ādi-khaṇḍam aśvād bhūmi-khaṇḍam tatah param/

relevant vs of that Khanda is not found in many of its mss which, again, place the Srsti-khanda first. From the description of the different constituent parts of the *Padma-p* as given in the first chap of the Srsti-khanda, it appears that the Srsti-khanda is the first of the set. Moreover, the *Nāradya-p*, in dividing the parts of the *Padma-p*, clearly mentions the name of its first division as Srsti-khanda. According to the traditional view, the topic of creation (Sarga) should come first among the five characteristics of the Purāṇas. This view appears quite natural and reasonable in as much as it is meaningless to delineate the earth (Bhūmi), the heaven (Svarga), or the nether regions (Pātāla) without discussing their origin and creation. The word Srsti (which is derived from the root *Srj* 'to create') means creation. Thus the position of the Srsti-khanda in the *Padma-p* is easily discernible. Undoubtedly it can be awarded the first place among the Khandas.

According to the printed editions as well as most of the Devanāgarī mss of the *Padma p*, the Srsti-khanda consists of eighty-two chaps. But there are grounds to believe that this Khanda consists of two major divisions of which the former extends up to the end of chap 43 and constitutes the Srsti khanda proper, as we have it now, and the latter which begins practically from chap 44, is found to occur in mss as a distinct work named *Dharma-p*. Suffice it to say for the present that there is a marked difference both in form and matter between the Srsti-khanda and the *Dharma p*. And we now propose to undertake a study of the former leaving a discussion of the latter to be taken up subsequently.

We have seen in the previous chap that the constituent parts of the *Padma p* were originally known as Parvans, and the first Parvan was named Puskara-parvan. In later ages, when the whole of the *Padma p* was recast and rearranged into Khanda divisions, the names of the other Parvans were changed, while the name Puskara was retained in the Khanda division also. The name Puskara khanda was not at all unfamiliar to the people. It is on the authority of

three mss. mentioned in the I O. Cat.⁷ that we know that the *Padma-p.* contained a Khanda known as Puskara-khanda. The term Srsti-khanda was later utilised in order to imbue the treatise with the chief characteristic of a Purāna. There is no reference to the term Srsti-khanda either in any independent ms. or in works of early Smṛti-writers. The first-known mention of it is found in the *Nāradiya-p.* I. 93, admittedly a later work, where the contents of the different Khandas of the *Padma-p.* have been briefly noted. In Miśra's *Vīramitrodaya* also there is an express mention of its title as Srsti-khanda.⁸ Incidentally, it may be mentioned here that when the name Srsti-khanda was known to the people at large, another name for it also gained currency and was duly recognised. It was the Kriyā or Prakriyā-khanda. The Anss. ed. of the Srsti-khanda mentions the name of the Kriyā-khanda in the following way, 'Kriyā-khandāpara-nāmadheya-srsti-khandarūpah'. Jīva Gosvāmī in his commentary on the *Bhāgavata-p.* mentions a Nirmāna-khanda, presumably a division of the *Padma-p.*⁹ It should not be supposed therefrom that the three different names are indicative of the fact that these are three different works which go by these names. The names Srsti, Kriyā, or Nirmāna imply the same thing, for all three denote action or creation

⁷ Vol II, pts I, II Of these three mss. two have been written in Tulu characters and the third one is written in Malayalam character See, e.g., vol II, pt I no 6624 'Koṭṭisvara ksetra mātātmya Śrī padma purāṇe puskara khaṇḍe koṭṭīa mahātmye " vol II, pt II, no 6628 Puskara khaṇḍa of the *Padma purāṇa* 'It is an abstract from the Puskara khaṇḍa of the *Padma purāṇa* adhyāya XVIII, containing a legendary account of the origin of the forest of Madhu, the site of Mathura

'Iti padma purāṇe puskara khaṇḍe aṣṭādaso dhyāyah" vol II, pt II, no 6631 'Śālagrāma mātātmya' The Śālagrāma mahātmya,—a collection of extracts magnifying the Śālagrāma or ammonite, from the *Padma-purāṇa*, Puskara khaṇḍa

"Ityadi mahapurāṇe śrī pādme Puṣkara khaṇḍe śālagrāma mātātmye pañcāśo dhyayah'

⁸ *Vīramitrodaya*, Tirtha prakāśa p 393

'pādme srsti khaṇḍe' etc

⁹ Jīva Gosvāmī's commentary on the *Bhāgavata p* x 128 But the vs.

'aho na jānanti narā-durāśayāḥ

puruṣa madhyām paramām sanatānam/

surendra nagendra munindra sarvastutām

manoramām tām mathurām parākṛtīm' /

(*Bhāgavata p* x 128) does not occur in the Srsti khaṇḍa

14b	tad abhave katham kuryat <i>kama keśarajor narah</i>	14b	yatha padme <i>pitamahah</i>
15a	<i>kama namno</i> harer arcam snapayed gandha varina	15a	<i>brahma namnim</i> ca pratimam krtva guda mayim subham
		N B	The Bengal mss contain the original vs of the <i>Matsya p</i> without any alteration
16a	<i>kamaya</i> padau sampuja	16a	<i>brahmaya</i> padau etc
		N B	The reading of the Bengal mss coincides with the <i>Matsya p</i>
16b	uru <i>smarayeti</i> punah	16b	<i>virincayoru</i> jugmam
17b	bahu <i>panca śaraya</i> vai	17b	bahum vai <i>padma bahave</i>
18a	arcayed iti <i>kesavam</i>	18a	pujayec-capi <i>kamjajam</i>
20a	priyatam atra bhagavan kamarupi <i>janardanah</i>	20a	sarvaloka <i>pitamahah</i>
21b	arcayed <i>visnum</i> <i>avyayam</i>	21b	arcayed <i>brahman avyayam</i>
23a	śayyam dadyad <i>anan</i> <i>gaya</i>	23a	śayyam dadyad <i>virincaya</i>
23b	kancanam <i>kamadevam</i> ca śuklam gam ca payasvinim	23b	<i>brahmanam</i> kancanam krtva savitrim rajatim tatha
25a	<i>kama namani</i> kirtayet	25b	<i>brahma namani</i> kirtayet
27b	prapnoti <i>hari</i> <i>samyatam</i>	28a	prapnoti <i>brahma</i> <i>sampratam</i>
28b	yah <i>smarah</i> samsmrto	29a	yo <i>brahma</i> sa smrto
29a	smared <i>angajam</i> <i>īśvaram</i>	29b	smared <i>devam</i> <i>pitamaham</i>
	Chap XI		Chap VIII
18b	<i>gokarna tirtha</i> vairagyat	53a	vairagyat <i>puskare</i> <i>tirtha</i>

19a ārādhayan mahadevam
19b varam pradān-
mahādevah

21a agamac-chulapāninah

42b mahendra-vanalayam

Chap XV

25a brahmandopari-
samsthītāh

Chap XVI

9b śiva-bhaktah pitrparah

Chap XVII

1a viṣṇunā yad udīri-
tam

Chap XVIII

1a yad-uktam
cakrapāninā

Chap XXI

11b putrārthī deva-deveśam
harim narayanam prabhum

12b tustas-tasya
janārdanah

25b svapne prāha
hrīkeśah

26b ity-uktvāntardadhe
viṣṇuh

Chap XXIV

14b viṣṇoh prasādād de-
vendro
etc

53b pitamaham samārādhya
54a tapah prabhavād deve-
śah samtustah padma-
sambhavaḥ

55b agamat padma-
sambhavaḥ

78a puskara-tapovanam

Chap IX

53a brahmalokopari-
sthītāh

82a brahma-bhaktah
pitrparah

127a brahmana yad-udīri-
tam

Chap X

1a. yad-uktam
brahmana purā

98b putrārthi deva-deveśam
padmayonim pitamaham

99b tustas-tasya
pitamahah

111b svapnante prāha tam
brahma

112b ity-uktvāntardadhe
brahma

Chap XII

66a brahmaprasādād devendro
etc.

<i>Viṣṇu-p.</i>	<i>Padma-p.</i>
First part	
Chap. II	Chap. II
12b tatah sa vāsudeveti vidvadbhīh paripathyate	85b bhāvayan brahma-rūpeṇa etc.
52b. viṣṇur-brahma-svarūpeṇa svayam-eva vyavasthitah	105a. brahmā brahma-svarūpeṇa svayam-eva etc.
66d. ...visnur varistho...	117b. ...brahmā varistho...
Chap. III	Chap. III
22a. ekārnave...brahmā nārāyaṇātmakah	17b. ekārnave...brahmā brahma-vidāṃ varah
Chap. IV	
2a prajāh...brahmā nārāyaṇātmakah	20b. prajāh...tatrādhīh sarva-sambhavaḥ
Chap. VIII	
1b. rudrasargaṃ pravakṣyāmi tan-me nigadatah śṛṇu	188b. rudrasargaṃ pravakṣyāmi jathā brahmā cakāra ha
Chap. IX	Chap. IV
87a ksīroda-madhye bhagavān kūrmarūpī svayam harih etc	40a. ksīroda-madhye bhagavān brahmā brahma-vidāṃ varah etc.

Only the remaining portions of the Puskara-khaṇḍa, i.e., from chap. 19 to 43 with the exception of chap. 29, could have been written or compiled by the Vaisnavas. One should disabuse his mind of doubts about how different portions of a particular Khaṇḍa bear evidence of different authorship signifying affiliation to different sects. Such instances are not rare in the Purāṇic literature. The *Agni* was originally grouped in the class of Tāmasa-purāṇas, i.e., the

Puranas dealing with the glorification of Śiva or Rudra Agni was even identified with Rudra or Śiva. But a careful analysis of the extant *Agni p* shows that the first three or four chaps only can claim to be original as they deal with Agni mahatmya. But the rest have been contributed or compiled by the Vaiṣnavas who incorporated in it a good number of vss from the *Viṣṇu p*, *Harivamsa* etc. Thus the *Agni p* in its present form is now a Vaiṣnava work although originally it was a Śaiva one. Similar examples are found in the case of the *Kalika p* also. The original *Kalika p* which is now lost, dwelt at length on the glorifications of the lord Śiva and although Kamarupa, its place of writing came to be a stronghold of Śaktism, the Śakti was regarded as an associated element of Śiva. But that original *Kalika p* is replaced by a new book, the present *Kalika p* which is evidently a contribution of the Śakta vaiṣnavas under whose influence the Śakti was regarded as the Vaiṣṇavī Śakti¹¹.

To resume, the *Padma p* though originally a Brahma work was later changed into a Vaiṣnava one at the hands of Vaiṣnava writers though it cannot be definitely ascertained why the Vaiṣnavas did not totally change this Puskara khanda also. Two explanations may be suggested. First the name Puskara which immediately reminds us of Brahma worship deterred in all probability the Vaiṣnavas from making any far reaching changes in it. Secondly the Vaiṣnavas might have thought it wiser to leave some introductory portions at the beginning of the *Padma p* as they were while changing the other portions so that no suspicion about such changes might arise in the minds of the people. It is possible for us to locate some of the earliest portions of the Puskara khanda from a brief summary of its contents as recorded in the second chap of the Puskara khanda. The relevant portion of the second chap refers to the following gradual developments of creation.

Brahma appeared in the great golden egg. That egg was surrounded by water. Water was encircled by a halo of lustre

That halo of lustre was engulfed by air. Air was circumambulated by the sky. The sky was encircled by the Bhūtas. The Bhūtas were encircled by the quality of Mahat. The quality of Mahat was surrounded by the Avyakta (non-perceivable one). The Universe has been created from that very golden egg.¹² These topics are actually found in the earliest portion of the Puskara-khanda. It is interesting to note that the second chap. of the Puskara-khanda does not refer to a single topic which has been dealt with in the *Dharma-p.*

It may be remarked in this connection that there is some incongruity between the contents of the Puskara-khanda as recorded in the second chap. and those referred to in the *Nāradya-p.* At the outset it should be mentioned that the *Nāradya-p.* gives a description of most of the Purānas including the *Padma-p.* with its Khandas and it is worthy of note that the *Nāradya-p.* does not mention a Puskara-khanda of the *Padma-p.* but refers to a Sṛṣṭi-khanda, spoken by the sage Pulastya to Bhīṣma. According to the *Nāradya-p.* the Sṛṣṭi-khanda dealt with the following topics:

The gradual development of creation (sṛṣṭyādikrama), the detailed glorifications of Puskara (puskarasya ca mähātmyam vistarena prakīrtitam), procedure of brahma-yajña featured by the proper chanting of the Vedic texts (brahma-yajña-vidhānam ca veda-pāthādi-laksanam), enumeration and glorification of different gifts and vows (dānānām kīrtanam yatra vratānām ca prthak prthak), marriage of the daughter of Himālaya (vivāhah śailajāyāś-ca), narrative of Tārakā (tārakākhyānakam mahat), glorification of the cow and such other kinds of animals (mähātmyam ca gavādinām kīrtitam), the stories of the killing of the demon Kālakeya and others (kālakeyādi-daityānām vadho yatra prthak prthak), the appropriate worship of the planets and gifts in honour of them (grahānām-arcanam dānam yatra proktam vidhānatah *Nāradya-p.* I. 92).

On a careful analysis of the Puskara-khanda of the present text we find that it contains those topics beginning

¹² Sṛṣṭi khanda II 9-11

with srstyadīkrama (chap 2) and ending in the episode of Taraka (chap 41 of the Puskara khanda) Such other topics as gavadinam mahatmyam kalakeyadī daityanam vadhah, grahanam arcanam danam which are recorded in the *Naradya p* are not found in the Puskara khanda, but these are all present in the *Dharma p* (gavadinam mahatmyam chap 45, 58 62, kalakeyadī daityanam vadhah chap 63 72 and grahanam arcanam danam chap 80 82).*

Thus, as some of the topics recorded in the *Naradya p* are found in the *Dharma p* only and not in the Puskara khanda proper, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that at the time of composition of this part of the *Naradya p* (I 92 the portion which records the contents of the *Padma p*), the whole of the Srsti khanda including the *Dharma p* was regarded as one book

It can definitely be said that this Puṣkara khanda was written either in the East of Mithila or West of Kamarupa. In the tenth chap (vss 14 16)¹³ the Parvatīyas have been denounced Aniruddhabhatta in his *Haralata* says that by the word Parvatīya the brahmins of Kamarupa are to be understood¹⁴ In the *Mbh* also, there are many references to the Parvatīyas meaning dwellers of the hills The term Parvatīya has been derived from parvatī meaning mountain Kāmarupa is a hilly tract and the name is derived from the word kamru which means ancient dwellers on mountains¹⁵ It is also known to the scholars that the Maithila brahmins (including the Nigara brahmins) settled at Kāmarupa, and the cultural relation between the local people and the settlers, i.e., the brahmins of Mithila continued for centuries It is a fact worth consideration that the Kāmarūpa brahmins even today read the Smṛti works of Vacaspati-miśra who was a

¹³ upaveśya tu śayyāyām madhuparkam tato dadet/
arghyam da tvā tu pātreṣu dadhu-dugdha-samanvitam,
arth lālā a am gthya sūksmam kṛtvā vumirayet/
pāyayed d ya-dimpyatyam petr-bhaktiā samanvitāb
cya eva vith rātritaḥ parvatīyān-dv jottamaib

¹⁴ Aniruddhabhatta, *Haralata* p. 193.

¹⁵ B. K. Nakat, *Customs in Formation and Development* pp. 53-54

Maithila. Some surnames of the Maithulas also have been used by them. It is quite possible that the Maithila brahmins would try to denounce these brahmins in order to establish their supremacy over the people of Kāmarūpa. It is natural that they would be jealous of their next-door neighbours who were flourishing under the patronage of the kings of the Mech dynasty of Kāmarūpa. Although the relevant portions do not occur in the Bengal mss. of the Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa still these should be treated as genuine vss. as these have been quoted also by Ballālasena in his *Dāna-sāgara*. That the brahmins of Kāmarūpa were in a prosperous condition, has been referred to in chap. 17 of the Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa¹⁶. This passage occurs in the Bengal mss. also.¹⁷

The fact that the Puskara-khaṇḍa was written by the Maithilas, is further supported by another piece of evidence. Like many other chaps. the eleventh chap. has also been taken from the *Matsya-p.* But the vss. from 69 to 81 do not occur there. On an analysis of these vss. we find that they, to a great extent, deal with the glorification of Gayā only among all sacred places. Hence it will not be unwise to conclude that this portion was written by the people of Mithilā who tried to glorify Gayā, their sacred place.

Vs. 247 of chap. 17, is important in fixing the upper limit of the date of its composition, as it mentions the Bhojakas, i e., a class of priests or sun-worshippers supposed to have descended from the Magas by intermarriage with the women of the Bhoja race. So we are inclined to hold that the earliest portion was written at least not before the Magians had spread their influence on the people at large and had been intermixed with the Bhoja race by means of marriage. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the purport of the vss. 69-78 of chap. 7 is similar to that of the Vibhūti-yoga, chap. 10 of the Bhagavadgītā. It is known that the Bhagavadgītā was probably composed before the Christian Era, although not

¹⁶ Vss. 176-178a according to the Anss. ed. and vss. 169-171a according to the Vañg ed.

¹⁷ See Asiatic Society's ms. of the Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa (no. 4517) p. 77a and Vañgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat ms. (no. 755) p. 890

more than a few centuries before it¹⁸ So the date of the Srsti-khanda comes later than that

We have already noted how the Srsti-khanda utilised the vss of the *Matsya-p* and the *Visnu-p* It has been proved that the *Padma-p* is the borrower and not vice versa,¹⁹ and the date of these portions of the *Matsya p* which have been utilised in the Srsti-khanda is 400 A D²⁰ So the Srsti or Puskara khanda cannot go earlier than that period As to the other limit, we find that the Smrti-writers of as early as the 12th or 13th century have quoted vss from the *Padma p* Vss have been quoted from chap 7 in the *Kṛtya-ratnākara* of Candēśvara, from chap 15 in the *Kṛtya-kalpataru* of Lakṣmīdhara, from chap 7 in the *Vidhana-pārijāta* (vol I) of Anantabhatta, from chaps 10 and 15 in the *Dāna-sagara* of Ballālasena, from chap 10 in the *Smṛti-tattva* of Raghunandana, from chap 9, 10 and 17 in the *Caturvarga-cintamani* of Hemādri, from chap 7 in the *Smṛti-candrikā* of Devanabhatta, from chap 15 in the *Ācārādarśa* of Śrīdattopādhyaya, from chap 8 in *Aparārka's* com on *Yajñavalkya-smṛti* and from chap 10 in the *Haralatā* of Aniruddhabhatta So it must be earlier than these works Now there is a vs in the *Harivamśa*²¹ which runs thus

purāṇe pauskare caiva mayā dvaipāyaneritah /
yathāvad-ānupūrvena samskṛtah paramarsibhih //²²

This is an obvious reference to the Puskara parva, i e, the earliest Parva of the *Padma p* or to the *Padma-p* itself which was perhaps known by the name of its first Parva According to scholars, the *Harivamśa* dates not later than sixth century A D Thus the date of the earliest portion of the Srsti-khanda falls between the first quarter and the third quarter of the fifth century A D and it is most probable that it was com-

¹⁸ M. Winternitz *History of Indian Literature* vol I p 438 fn 1

¹⁹ *Puranic Records* pp 34-35

²⁰ *Ibid* p 35

²¹ *Harivamśa* (Vāṅg ed.) bhaviṣya parva 32-62

²² According to the reading of the Asiatic Society's ed., it is purāṇe puṣkare but this is wrong

The reading of Bombay ed. (Litho) coincides with the Vāṅg ed.

posed in the middle of the fifth century A D That Brahmāism was very popular at that time is proved by the evidence of Varāhamihira also, who (6th century A D) attributes a very high place to the Brahmā-worshippers by calling them vipras, i e , brahmin worth the name

At that time East India was a stronghold of Brahmanism We know from the Buddhist literature that the worship of Brahmā was prevalent in East India Dr J N Banerjea remarks, "The early Buddhist works on many occasions refer to the various kinds of worship that prevailed in India especially in Central or Eastern India at a time when Buddha preached his doctrine R G Bhandarkar quotes a very interesting passage from the Niddesa which furnishes us with a curious record of the various religious systems that prevailed at that period the deity of those devoted to Sūryya, Indra, Brahma²³"

We have already mentioned that the other portion of the Srsti-khanda (constituting chaps 19-28, 30-43) proper was a later contribution of the Vaisnavas Vss from this portion have been quoted in *Gṛhastha ratnakara* pp 215 216, 255-256, 270-271 (which correspond to chap 20 vss 145 ff, 159 170a, 170b ff respectively), in *Ārtja-kalpataru* vol 5, i e , *Dāna-kanda* pp 110-113, pp 145-146 (corresponding chap 32 vss 158-183 and 137b-143 respectively), in vol 8, i e , *Tīrtha-utecanā kanda* pp 184-185 (corresponding chap 27 vss 61-78), in vol 3, i e , *Niyata-kala-kanda* pp 76-78 (corresponding chap 20 vss 145-167), p 115 (chap 20 vs 165), pp 116-117 (chap 20 vss 151-170), pp 139-140 (chap 20 vss 170-177), in *Ācarādarśa* f 15b-16a (chap 20 vss 145 ff), f 27b (chap 20 vss 159-170a), f 30b (chap 20 vss 170b-177a), in *Brāhmana-sarvasva* p 82, pp 82-83, p 105, pp 113-114, p 115, pp 170 171, p 176 (chap 20 vss 146 ff, 149 ff, 162 ff, 170b ff, 176, 170b ff, 176 respectively), in *Vīramitrodaya*, i e , *Āhnikā prakāśa* pp 230 231, 354-355, 378-379 (corresponding chap 20 vss 145 ff, 159 ff, 170b ff respectively), in *Vidhana-pārijata* vol III pp 126-127, 137-138, 138-139,

²³J N Banerjea *Development of Hindu Iconography* pp. 84-85.

139, 140-141, 141-142, 142-143, 143-144, 145, 146-147 (corresponding chap. 21 vss 82-92, 127b-135, 136-145a, 145b-152a, 152b-159a, 159b-165a, 165b-176a, 176b-187a, 187b-197a, 197b ff. respectively). So this portion dates much earlier than these Smṛti-writers. 100 years may be taken to intervene between the two portions of the Srṣṭi-khaṇḍa proper, the second portion may then be approximately dated in the middle of the sixth century A.D.

It is also highly probable that the whole of the Srṣṭi-khaṇḍa was again taken up in later times and revised by the Tāntric-Brāhmas who interpolated some vss. here and there as appears from an examination of the vss. 8-75 of chap. 31. This portion is highly Tāntric. Some portions of the 30th chap. also may be said to be contributed by them. The Brahmāism was at that period in a decadent state. Many of the worshippers of Brahmā accepted Śaivism²⁴. The followers of Brahmāism tried to explain the cause of the downfall of their own religion by spinning out a queer story of Sāvitrī who cursed Brahmā that nobody would worship him thenceforth²⁵.

But this recast also has been made before Ballālasena and Hemādri. The latter in his *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* has quoted several vss. from chap. 31 of the Srṣṭi-khaṇḍa of the *Padma-p.*²⁶ Ballālasena also, in his *Dāna-sāgara* (mss. no. 719, 720 of the I. O., London) quotes the vs. 149 of the 31st chap²⁷.

It has been held that the Purāṇas began to be imbued with the spirit of Tāntricism from the beginning of the 9th century A.D.²⁸ So this portion comes after that period and it is highly probable that this reshuffling by the Tāntric-Brāhmas was made in the tenth century. Thus we see that

²⁴ Cf. Srṣṭi khaṇḍa 14 133a

²⁵ For the full story see ibid' chap. 17

²⁶ *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, Dāna khaṇḍa, i.e., vol. I p. 58 (Srṣṭi-khaṇḍa 31 vss 183 b-184a), pp. 243-245 (Srṣṭi khaṇḍa 31 vss 166-187), vol. II, i.e., Vrata-khaṇḍa pt. I p. 67, pp. 306-307 (Srṣṭi khaṇḍa 31. vss 174-179a)

²⁷ See for the necessary vs. the mss. no. 719 or 720 of the I. O. Library, London, f. 239a

²⁸ R. C. Hazra, *Purāṇic Records* p. 260

omitting the portion of the *Dharma-p.* the *Srṣṭi-khanda* came to be recognised in its present form from the tenth century A D.

THE DHARMA-PURĀṆA—APPENDIX TO THE SRṢṬI-KHANDA

Although the *Dharma-p.* stands as an appendix to the *Srṣṭi-khanda*, still it deserves special attention for it plays an important part in the constitution of the *Padma-p.* as it stands today.

That this *Dharma-p.*²⁹ did not, in its origin, form an integral part of the *Padma-p.* proper but was an independent work, is shown definitely by the facts that all the Bengal mss. of the *Srṣṭi-khanda* (written in Bengali script) and one Devanāgarī ms. preserved in the I.O., London³⁰ lack this portion and that the *Bṛhaddharma-p.* includes the name of the *Dharma-p.* in its list of eighteen Upapurāṇas³¹. In course of time, however, this work came to be recognised as a part of the *Srṣṭi-khanda*, and it appears from the exclusion of this part from the Bengal mss. of the *Srṣṭi-khanda* that this addition and recognition were not made in Bengal. Here

²⁹ For mss. of the *Dharma p.* see—

- (i) Sastri Cat., V pp 777-781, nos. 4121-4122 (mss nos 3309 and 3657)
- (ii) R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sans mss.*, VI, pp. 224-227, no 2182
- (iii) Hiralal, *Cat of Sans and Prakrit mss in the Central Provinces and Berar* p 217.
- (iv) R. Roth, *Verzeichniss indischer Handschriften der Königl. Universitäts-Bibliothek (in Tübingen)* 13

³⁰ Eggeling, I O Cat. VI, no. 3380 (ms. no 215) The contents of the last seven chaps. of this ms. as given by Eggeling, are as follows—

padmodbhava prādurbhāvaḥ, sura tārakayoḥ saṃgrāmaḥ, kumāra-saṃbhava
gaurī vivāhaḥ, pīṭmāhātmya kathanaṃ, śrāddha prakaraṇaṃ, yadu varṇa-
kīrtanaṃ, kroṣṭu varṇa kīrtanaṃ.

These contents agree with those of the Bengal mss. to a great extent. R. L. Mitra, in his *Notices of Sanskrit mss.*, vol III, no 1257 pp. 147-151, gives a brief description of a Bengal ms. of the *Padma purāṇīya srṣṭi khanda* where there are all the above-mentioned chaps. except that dealing with padmodbhava-prādurbhāvaḥ of the I O ms. The mss. nos. 4517 and 755 of the *Srṣṭi khanda*, preserved in the libraries of the Asiatic Society and the Vāṅṭīya Sāhitya Parishat respectively, deal with all these chaps.

³¹ *Bṛhaddharma-p.* 1.25 25

we shall examine the *Dharma p* which has so long been regarded as a constituent part of the *Sṛṣṭi khaṇḍa*

That the *Dharma-p* was written in Kāmarūpa a little after the first Muhammadan invasion, can be proved by various evidences. It contains a peculiar story of Garuda which runs as follows. Immediately after his birth from Vinatā by Kaśyapa, Garuda felt very hungry and begged food from his mother, who, from a feeling of helplessness, referred him to his father Kaśyapa practising penance on the northern bank of the river Lauhitya (modern Brahmaputra)³². Accordingly, Garuda met his father there and informed him of his hunger. The latter advised him to eat up the Nisādas living on the banks of the Lauhitya but not the brahmins residing with them³³. Now, Garuda acted according to his father's advice but through mistake devoured up a brahmin also, as he was unable to distinguish him from others. This brahmin stuck in his throat in such a way that he was able neither to devour him up nor to vomit him out. Feeling extremely helpless, he reported the matter to his father, who, at the request of this brahmin, advised Garuda to vomit out all the Mlecchas together with the brahmin on all sides outside the country. Consequently, Garuda gave out different Mleccha tribes in different directions. Thus, in the east there were the hairless and beardless Yavanas as well as those who had scanty beard, in the south east there were the sinful Nagnakas (Nāgas ?), in the south there were the fierce, wicked and speechless people who took delight in killing animals and were beef eaters, in the south west there were the Kuvadas (people having a bad speech ?) who were sinners and were always bent on killing cows and brahmins, in the west as well as in the east there were the fearful

³² tava tātas tapas-tepe lauhityasyottare tate/ /
kaśyapo nāma dharmātmā sākṣāl loka pitāmahar/
tatra gacchasya p taram uha kāmam yathā tava/ /
asyopadeśatas-tāta kṣudhā te śamam-eṣyati/ /

Sṛṣṭi khaṇḍa 44 43b-44

³³ aneka śata-sāhasrā niṣādāḥ saritām patch/
tīre tiṣṭhanti pāpiṣṭhās tāms-tvaṁ bhakṣa sukhi bhava/ /
vinā vipram //

Sṛṣṭi khaṇḍa 44 49-50

Kharparas; in the north-west there were the Turuskas, who had their faces covered with beard, were habituated beef-eaters, rode on horse-back, and knew no retreat from battle, in the north there were the mountains and the Mlecchas living in them, eating everything without discrimination, and practising indiscipline, and capture and slaughter of human beings, and in the north-east there are the Nirayas (hellish people?) living on trees³¹. The mention of the Turuskas being driven out to the north-west of Kāmarūpa, evidently refers to the Muhammadans who, after entering Kāmarūpa must have received a severe set back with a crushing defeat and been driven away from the heart of the country to the north-western part of it. Thus, it can safely be held that this *Dharma-p* was written in Kāmarūpa after the Muhammadan invasion referred to in the above story. We know from inscriptional, literary and other evidences that on his way to Tibet some time between 1203-1205 A D Md Bakhtyar Khilji, King of Bengal, entered Kāmarūpa with an army of horse-men and received a severe blow from the reigning king of the territory³². It is admitted that Bakhtyar Khilji was murdered in August 1206 A D³³. If about fifty years be taken to intervene between Bakhtyar Khilji's expulsion from Kāmarūpa and the composition of the *Dharma-p*, then this work is to be dated not earlier than the second half of the 13th century A D.

The upper limit of the date of composition of the *Dharma-p* can be supported by other internal and external evidences, which are as follows. The names of rāsis and week days have been given more than once³⁴, the Tulasi plant has been named on several occasions³⁵, and the influence of the Āgamas and Tantras is very prominently discernible in several places³⁶. There are references to the

³¹ For the relevant vs. see *Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa* 44 70-76.

³² *History of Bengal* vol. II p. 11.

³³ *Ibid.* p. 14.

³⁴ *Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa* 47 226 55.21 53.25-26 75 44-45, 76.

³⁵ Chap. 52 deals with the glorification of Tulsi, and in vs. 102-143 of chap.

53 the plant has been given a very high position.

³⁶ *śivato vaṁśikā mantrīb paṇḍitā-cāgamodīkariḥ* / *śṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa* 57 17a.

Mlecchas⁴⁰ which seem to betray the knowledge of the author of the *Dharma-p.* of the evils of the rule of the Mleccha dynasty in Kāmarūpa. The comparatively late date of this part of the *Sṛṣṭi-khanda* is further evidenced by the fact that none of the numerous *Smṛti*-writers is found to quote even a single line from this portion either under the name of the *Dharma-p.* or that of the *Sṛṣṭi-khanda* or *Padma-p.*, although they have quoted frequently from the other part. The two vss.⁴¹, quoted as from *Padma-p.* in Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmani* I p. 71 and found in chap. 47 of this part, need not be taken to assign this part to an earlier date. Traces of late origin contained in this part itself as well as the remarkable silence of all the *Smṛti*-writers about its contents show definitely that these two vss. were taken by Hemādri from some earlier chap. of the *Padma-p.* which has been modified or lost.

As to the lower limit of the date of the *Dharma-p.*, we have already said that its name has been included in the list of eighteen *Upapurāṇas* given in the *Brhaddharma-p.* (l. 25.23-26) which must have been composed not later than the end of the 14th century A D.⁴² So, the *Dharma-p.* could not have been written later than 1325 A D. Thus, the date of composition of this work falls between 1250 and 1325 A D.

In order to explain the rise and title of the *Dharma-p.* a picture of the religious condition of Kāmarūpa may be drawn from the materials contained in this book itself. The socio-religious culture of the country had moved far away from the

veda vedāṅga-śāstraṃ ca purāṇāgama-saṃhitāḥ/ Ibid 58 117a

na śrūyante janair eva purāṇāgama saṃhitāḥ/ / Ibid 74 47b

Tāntric influence is seen in chap 57 and in 58 125, 76 15, 79 44, 81 27, 82 3, 8, 14, 20, 25, 28 etc

⁴⁰ Cf. *Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa* 44 20, 76, 47 260, 49 28, 58 91 92, 63 18, 74 10-12, 39, 41, 42, 44, 51 etc

⁴¹ indor lakṣa guṇaṃ puṇyaṃ raver daśa guṇaṃ bhavet/

gaṅgā tire tu samprāpte indoḥ koṭi raver-daśa/ /

ravivare raver-grāsaḥ some somagrahas-tathā/

cūḍamaṇi-iti khyāta-tatrānanta phalaṃ smṛtam/ /

The third vs. quoted by Hemādri from the *Padma-p.* in this connection is not found in any of the printed editions

⁴² Jogeshchandra Roy in *Bhāratavarṣa* (a Bengali monthly journal published from Calcutta) XVII, pt. II (1936-37 B S) p. 677

Varnāśramadharma advocated by the Smṛti-writers. There were the Kirātas and the Kāpālika Śaivas, who are referred to in the *Kālikā-p.* and other works as Mlecchas, Śūlapāni, in his *Durgotsava-viveka*, ascribes to the *Skanda-p.* a vs. which refers to the worship by Kirātas which was bereft of sacrifices, mantras and their muttering but was furnished with the offering of wine, meat etc. This type of worship was known as Tāmasī⁴³. The *Bhaviṣya-p.* also mentions that the Kāpālikas took wine and meat profusely⁴⁴. Other references of this nature can be had from the *Devī-p.* and other works also. In the *Dharma-p.* there are similar accounts of the Mlecchas. According to this work⁴⁵ the Mlecchas were no better than slaves of their passions. They ate everything, beef, flesh of other animals, wine, onion etc. in particular. They roamed about with dogs in chains with them, took the remnants of food left by others, misappropriated the things deposited with them, killed infants, women, brahmins and cows, and carried away by force the women-folk of others for their personal pleasure. They loved the company of bad people; their servants also became immoral; and their women sometimes became adulterous. In fact, they were impure in body and mind and did not care for purity, penance or knowledge. They did not believe in the Hindu customs and worship of gods, Pitrs, spiritual preceptors and parents or in the efficacy of gifts, Tarpana and Śrāddha. They were immoral to such an extent that they would desire even their own mothers and sisters for their sensual gratification. They were very cruel and prone to anger, and even towards their own children they did not entertain any feeling of affection. The whole structure of the society collapsed under their influence. People in general learnt their dialect (described as paśācīkī bhāṣā) in order to have service under them, disbelieved the Purānas

⁴³ surā-māmsādy upahāraṁ japayaṣṭair-vinā tu yā/
vinā mantras tāmasī sā kiratānām ca saṁmatā/ /
(ascribed to the *Skanda-p.* in Śūlapāni's *Durgotsava viveka* p. 3)

⁴⁴ surāsavabhṛtāḥ kumbhaḥ-tarpayet paramēśvarīm/
kāpālikebhyas-tad deyaṁ dāśī-dāsa-janaḥ-tathā/ /
Bhaviṣya-p. (Venkaṭ Press ed.) iv 138 98

⁴⁵ Sṛṣṭi khaṇḍa chaps 44, 45, 74

and the Āgama Saṃhūtās and disrespected the elderly persons. They deviated from the right path of Varnāśrama-dharma, were jealous of one another, and became fraudulent. The housewives were reluctant to take care of or attend upon their husbands, and other in laws. Even the brahmins also had a great fall from the right path of the Vedic Dharma under the influence of these people. They became devoid of purity, self control, mantras and sacraments. They had no regard for the ancient scriptures, Śrāddhas and other Pitr-karmans any more. People in general gave up their own hereditary profession and began to adopt the art of craftsmanship, husbandry, agriculture and merchandise according to their own choice⁴⁶. During this time, the term Mleccha gained so much popularity that the kings of the Śālastambha dynasty were not at all ashamed of giving themselves out as Mlecchas⁴⁷. The use of this term by Harjaravarman, a descendant of Śālastambha, with respect to his own ancestors shows that it was popular in Kāmarūpa and did not mean as much disrespect or dishonour as it is generally presumed. If the term would indicate humiliation, Harjaravarman, a descendant of Śālastambha, would not have mentioned it in his own inscription. This shows that the Mlecchas had spread so much influence throughout the country, that this term was not considered to bring dishonour and humiliation to anybody.

The dismal picture of society, given above, is ascribed by the *Dharma-p* to the wide spread of Kāpālīka Śaivism, which did not come to Kāmarūpa all on a sudden. There is no doubt about the fact that from early days Kāmarūpa was a stronghold of Śaivism. It will not perhaps be out of place to refer to a story of the *Kalikā-p* in this respect. According to this story, all the rivers and mountains of this Mahāpīṭha Kāmarūpa were sacred and the people dying there became the dwellers of the region of Śiva. Yama's messengers were thus being thrown out of employment, and his abode was experien-

⁴⁶ *Śrīti khaṇḍa* 74. 1. 55

⁴⁷ Cf. *ato mlecchābhūdhānās-tu bhaviṣyās-tava pārthiva* Padmanatha Bhatt acharya *Kamarupa-Jarāvalī* p. 48.

The tracing of the lineage of kings of Kāmarūpa to Viṣṇu through Naraka, does not mean that the worship of Viṣṇu was prevalent in Assam from early times⁵² Naraka or Narakāśura does not seem to have originally been a Vaiṣṇava. The idea that he was the son of Viṣṇu is a much later one, as it is wanting in all the earlier texts like the *Mbh* and the *Ram*. It is highly probable, on the other hand, that he was a Kāpālīka Śaiva. According to the story of his birth, as given in *Kālikā-p* chap 36-37, Naraka was born at the dead of night in the sacrificial ground of King Janaka of Videha, and immediately after his birth, began to cry, rolled away from there, and lay for some time on his back by placing his head on a human skull⁵³. It is interesting to note in this story that Naraka was conceived by his mother Prthivī in an unusual condition during her monthly courses and (that his mother, as his nurse, reared him up and gave him instructions so that he might grow up as a human being in mind and habits. All these tend to show that he was not an Aryan by birth. K. L. Barua is inclined to take the kings of the dynasty of Naraka to be of Dravidian origin⁵⁴. The facts that the Kapala (human skull) is a sign of the Kāpālīka Śaivas and that immediately after his birth Naraka was found with a skull under his head, tend to indicate that Naraka belonged originally to the Kāpālīka sect which was highly antagonistic to the Vedic Varnaśramadharmā. It may be that he was born and brought up in Śākta surroundings, and his connection with the Divine Boar seems to suggest his non Aryan origin. The Aryans were tall and of bright complexion, whereas the son of the Boar is expected to be a man of short stature, dark complexion and strong built body. According to the Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang, the people of Kāmarūpa were 'small of stature and black-looking⁵⁵'. So, it is highly probable that Naraka was a local man of Kāmarūpa and not one from Videha, which, as the *Kālikā-p* says,

⁵² B. K. Barua *Cultural History of Assam* vol 1 p 149

⁵³ *Kālikā-p* 37 51 52

⁵⁴ K. L. Barua *Early History of Kāmarūpa* p 25

⁵⁵ Thomas Watters *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India* vol II p. 186.

had been Aryanised long before Naraka's birth. The term 'Bhauma' has been repeatedly used to refer to Naraka in the *Mbh*. There may be a good deal of truth in the view that Bhauma means local or born of the soil (bhūmi). Evidently, he was a local man of Kāmarūpa, dark complexioned and belonging perhaps to a Kīrāta or some other local tribe. According to the *Kalika p*, he defeated Ghataka of the Kīrāta tribe whose complexion was as bright as gold⁵⁶. So, Ghataka of the *Kalika p* clearly belonged to the Mongolian tribe. But Naraka was a native of Kāmarūpa belonging presumably to a local tribe, or another branch of the Kīrātas, who were of dark complexion. References to the black Kīrātas are not wanting in our ancient literature. For instance, the *Nāṭya-śāstra* of Bharata prescribes that those actors, who are to play the part of Kīrātas, are generally to be painted black⁵⁷, and according to Bhāravi's *Kīratarjuniya*, Śiva in the guise of a Kīrāta appeared like a cloud⁵⁸. The author of the Pūrva pithikā of Dandin's *Dasa kumāra-carita* places the Kīratas in the Vindhya territory, the native tribes of which are mostly black⁵⁹. In a work called *Śakti-samgama tantra*, the Kīrāta country is described as being situated in the Vindhyas (kīrātadeśo devesi vindhya śaile ca tisthati⁶⁰). It may be that the predecessors of Naraka migrated from the Vindhyan territory or from some other place near about it, settled in Kāmarūpa and were regarded later on as original inhabitants of that place. There seems, however, to be little doubt about the fact that Naraka himself was born in Kāmarūpa. From the statement of the *Brahma p* we know that Naraka was born in Kokāmukha-tirtha in Kāmarūpa⁶¹.

⁵⁶ *Kalika p* 33. 99-104

⁵⁷ *Nāṭya-śāstra* 21. 83-89

⁵⁸ *Kīratarjuniya* 12. 47

⁵⁹ *Dasa-kumāra-carita*, Pūrva pithikā, Uchchvāsa I pp. 63-66

⁶⁰ B. K. Kakati, *Major Gods of Kāmarūpa* p. 10

See also D. C. Sircar's article on 'An account of the 56 countries lying on the Borders of India', *Indian Culture* VIII. 1941 pp. 33-64

⁶¹ The following lines may be quoted from the *Brahma p* in this connection

kokāṣṭha-tirtha-sah tī sarvabhūta-gaṇa-rājani/
chāyā mahimayī krodhī paṇḍa-prāṇa-brahmā /
garbham-ādīya satradhī vīrāṣyaiva sundarī

Thus, beginning from Naraka downwards to the earlier part of the reign of Dharmapāla, Kāpālīka Śaivism, held sway all over Kāmarūpa and Assam. In recounting the sacred places of ancient Kāmarūpa, the *Kālikā-p.* mentions fifteen places sacred to Śiva as against five sacred to Devī and five sacred to Viṣṇu⁶²

It is highly probable that some time during the long interval between Vajradatta and Pusyavarman a tidal wave in the shape of Vaisnava reform went over the country. During this long and dark period of the history of Kāmarūpa, attempts seem to have been made to bring all the non-Aryan and non-Vedic or anti-Vedic elements into the Aryan and Vedic fold by means of various innovations, and suitable stories were fabricated and included in books Naraka, definitely a non-Vedic and non-Vaisnava antagonist of the Varnāśramadharma, was connected with Viṣṇu in order to create a favourable field for Vaisnavism in Kāmarūpa. But the non-Aryan and non-Vedic inclinations of his mind were too strong to be wiped out totally. It has been said in the *Kālikā-p.* that Naraka was well versed in the Vedas and devoted to the duties of the twice-born, and that Gautama performed his Keśa-vapana ceremony strictly according to the Vedic rites. But one thing remains prominent that in spite of the Vedic Samskāras, Naraka reverted to his non-Vedic habits and tendencies which were natural to him. Hence it is clear, that the flood of Vaisnavism was not very disastrous for Śaivism that was deeply rooted in the hearts of the people of that place. It could not replace Śaivism but only acquired a temporary footing there. During this period of existence of Vaisnavism in Kāmarūpa, attempts were made to Aryanise

tato'syāṁ prābhavat putro bhaumas tu narakāsurah/ /

prāgjyotiṣaṁ ca nagaram-asya dattaṁ ca viṣṇuṁ/ / 219 114-115

H. C. Raychaudhuri remarks in *B. C. Law* vol. 1 p. 88

"The evidence furnished by the above sections of the *Purāṇa* (i.e., *Brahma-p.*) prove beyond doubt that . . . the *koṭamukha* tīrtha was in the Himalayan region on the northern fringe of Bengal."

B. K. Barua in his *Cultural History of Assam*, vol. I p. 153, remarks

"The reference to the *Kauśikī* and *Tristota* rivers as being in its neighbourhood puts the site within the ancient boundary of Kāmarūpa."

⁶² *Mother Goddess Kamākhyā* p. 11., *Kālikā-p.* 81-82

the people and to trace the lineage of the kings of Kāmarūpa from an incarnation of Viṣṇu by giving out that Naraka, the cultural father of Kamarūpa, was born of the Earth by Viṣṇu in his incarnation as the Great Boar ⁶³ However, the Vaisnava hold on Kamarūpa did not persist long Epigraphic, literary and other evidences indicate that at least from Bhaskaravarman's time to the earlier part of the Dharma pāla's reign, Vaisnavism lost state support, the kings worshipped Maheśvara as their guardian deity, and there was a great spread of Kāpālīka Śaivism among the people It is this Śaivism (including Kāpālīka Śaivism) which, under the influence of Tantricism, was responsible for country wide corruption not favoured by the followers of Brāhmanism Moreover, the influence of the Muslims which was an outcome of the Muslim invasion, made the whole social structure of the country unbalanced At this critical stage of social disintegration came forward the brahmins In order to safeguard the interest of the society, they wrote this *Dharma p* and later on tried to make it a part of the widely read and universally accepted *Padma-p* They tried to free their country from undesirable elements and to re establish the Vedic Dharma This attempt of theirs proved to be successful, as Vaisnavism gained fresh vigour in Kāmarūpa under the support of a ruling prince Dharmapāla, whose second copper plate begins with an obeisance to God Nārāyaṇa in the form of the Boar, ⁶⁴ while in all the inscriptions of his predecessors and even in the first plate of himself the obeisance is to Lord Maheśvara It will perhaps not be unreasonable to presume, therefore, that Dharmapāla changed his religious faith in his later life The period of his reign has been approximately fixed as 1090-1115 A D ⁶⁵ If this date is correct, we can hold that at least from the beginning of the 12th century A D Vaisnavism gradually began to spread its influence which might have affected Bengal also A study of

⁶³ *Harivaṃśa* (Vaṅg ed.) II 63-64 *Viṣṇu-p* (Vaṅg ed.) V 29 *Bhāgavata-p* (Vaṅg ed.) X. 59 *Kālikā-p* chap 37 and so on

⁶⁴ *svasti śrīmān sa kroḍarūpo jayati Kāmarūpa-jayāndolī* p 171

⁶⁵ K. L. Barua, *Early History of Kamarupa* p 149

the Sena inscriptions shows that although Ballālasena and his predecessors were devotees of Śiva⁶⁶, Lakṣmanasena and his successors began their inscriptions by invoking Nārāyaṇa. For instance, the Saktipur, Anulia, Tarpaṇḍighi and Madhainagar copper-plates of Lakṣmanasena, the Edilpur plate of Keśavasena and the Madhainagar and Sāhitya Parisat copper-plates of Viśvarūpasena begin with obeisance to Nārāyaṇa⁶⁷ and in his Anulia and Madhainagar plates Lakṣmanasena calls himself Parama-Vaiṣṇava and Parama-Nārasimha respectively⁶⁸. So, it is evident that from Lakṣmanasena's time Vaiṣṇavism began to receive state-support in Bengal, and it may not be altogether improbable that this influx of Vaiṣṇavism came from Kāmarūpa with which Bengal from time immemorial had a unique co-relation of cultural movements.

« The frequent occurrence of the word dharma in the inscriptions of the kings of Kāmarūpa has sometimes been taken to prove the prevalence of Buddhism there⁶⁹ and to account for all sorts of corruptions that struck at the very basis of the socio-religious structure of the country. The description of Dharma, as found in the vs

‘jayati jagad-eka-bandhur-
loka-dvītiyasya sampado hetuh /
para-hita-mūrtir-adrstah
phalānumeya-sthūtir-dharmah’//

⁶⁶ During the reign of the Pala and Sena kings, Śaivism spread widely over this country. During Dharmapāla's reign a four faced image of Mahādeva was installed. In his Bhagaḥpur grant, Nārāyaṇapāla says that he bestowed some gifts to Śiva-bhaṭṭa śraka and his worshippers, the Pāsupatas. In his Deopara Inscription, Vijayasena invokes Śiva under the name of Sambhu. His son Ballālasena makes obeisance to Śiva under the names of Ardha nārisvara in the Naihati copper-plate grant and Dhūrjati in the Barrackpore copper-plate grant. See N. G. Mazumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III pp. 46, 61 and 71, also *History of Bengal*, vol. I p. 405.

It is interesting to note that Lakṣmanasena applies the adjective Parama Vaiṣṇava to his father in the Govindapur copper plate, although the latter distinctly calls himself Parama Māheśvara in the Naihati copper plate grant. See N. G. Mazumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III pp. 93 and 73.

⁶⁷ For the Saktipur plate see Ep. Ind., XXI (no. 37) p. 211 and for others see *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III p. 86, 101, 109, 121, 133 and 143.

⁶⁸ Ibid., III pp. 86 and 111.

⁶⁹ In his *Early History of Kāmarūpa* chap. VII, K. L. Barua tries to prove that Buddhism was prevalent at that period in Assam. But his arguments are too weak to be relied upon.

occurring in the Nidhanpur copper-plate of Bhāskaravarman, does not certainly point to Buddhism as K. L. Barua thinks⁷⁰. As a matter of fact, none of the ideas, contained in this vs., has anything which is particularly Buddhistic. The word dharma has been defined in the *Śābara-bhāṣya* of the *Mīmāṃsā-sūtra* as *ya eva śreyaskarah sa eva dharma-śabdenocyate*⁷¹. There are also many references in the *Mbh.* to Dharma as a personal god⁷². That the idea of Dharma is *adr̥ṣṭa* also was not unknown to the ancient Hindus, is evidenced by the following statement: 'vedaika-pramāna-gamyo'rthah punya-nāmādr̥ṣṭa-viśeso dharmah.' All the schools of Hindu Philosophy admit that Dharma is not seen but can only be inferred from its results. So, the word dharma as occurring in the said inscription undoubtedly refers to the Varnāśramadharmā of the Hindus. In the same inscription the following line occurs: 'sa jagad-udaya-kalpanāstamaya-hetunā bhagavatā kamala-saṁbhavenāvakīrṇa-varnāśrama-dharma-pravibhāgāya nirmītaḥ⁷³.' The occurrence of the word dharma at the very beginning of the inscription points to Bhāskaravarman's devotion to the Hindu faith. That by the word dharma the kings of Kāmarūpa meant the Vedic Varnāśramadharmā, is shown by Indrapāla's first copper-plate also, in which there is the vs.

⁷⁰ K. L. Barua, *Early History of Kāmarūpa* p. 151

⁷¹ *Mīmāṃsā-sūtra-bhāṣya* I. 2

⁷² See, for instance, *Mbh.* XII 123 22

sa samānīya tat putram tam-uplābhya pāṭhivam/
 ātmīnam darśayāmāsa dharmam dharmabhr̥tām varah' /
 XIV' 90 82

prīṭimā sa tu tam vākyam ślam āha divyabham'
 vāgmi tadā divya śreṣṭho dharmab puruṣa-vigrahab' /
 and XIV' 90 107b and 108a.

ity ukta vākye dharme tu yānam-āruhya sa divyab' /
 sadīrah saṁtat-caiva saṁnuṣṭa-ca divam gataḥ'
 Further, the line

'sa tu dharmo mrgo bhūtvā bahu varṇanto vane' (XII 271 17a) shows that dharma assumed the shape of a deer.

Of the five hundred daughters of Dakṣa, ten were given in marriage to Dharma (164 13a). Dharma covered up the body of Yajñaseni when Dakṣiṇana was trying to move her robes by force in the open assembly (II 63 46, 48).

For a nice example of the personification of Dharma when it appears before Yudhiṣṭhira see *Mbh.* III 313. 6-8.

⁷³ *Kāmarūpa-śāsanā* p. 15

‘yasmin nrpe vinaya-vikrama-bhāṇi jā(te)
samyagvibhakta caturāsrāma varna dharma⁷⁴’

The occurrence of the name Tathāgata in the same inscription has been taken by K. L. Barua and others⁷⁵ to point definitely to the prevalence of Buddhism in Kamarūpa. The relevant portion of the inscription runs thus ‘Uttarena tathagata-kāritāditya-bhattāraka-satka-śāsana-bhavisā-bhūsimni ksetraliṣṭha-śakhotaka-vrksa Pasupati-kārta puskarini daksi(na)-patau ksetraliś-ca⁷⁶,’ and it describes the northern boundary of the land given by Indrapāla to a brahmin Deśapāla by name. It is clearly understood from this inscription that Tathāgata is the name of a person⁷⁷ here who established an image of the Sun-god, for, in the following line there is a word paśupati which does not certainly refer to Śiva, the lord of animals, but is the name of person who either owned a pond or caused it to be dug. So the name Tathagata only proves that the Buddha and Buddhism were known in Kamarupa, and nothing more.

The evidence of Kalhana’s *Raja tarangini* also is too meagre to be relied upon. As stated by Kalhana, Meghavāhana, the prince of Kaśmīra, married Amrtaprabhā, the daughter of the Kamarupa king, and the latter took her father’s preceptor to her husband’s kingdom with her and there erected some stūpas. But one is unable to identify Amrtaprabhā’s father with any king of Kāmarūpa. Thus, difficulty arises in believing all the statements of Kalhana in toto. Moreover, Yuan Chwang expressly states “they (i.e., the people of Kāmarupa) worshipped the Devas, and did not believe in Buddhism. So there had never been a Buddhist monastery in the land, and whatever Buddhists there were in it performed their acts of devotion secretly, the Deva-Temples were some hundreds in number, and the various systems had some myriads of professed adherents⁷⁸”

⁷⁴ Ibid. p. 121

⁷⁵ K. L. Barua *Early History of Kāmarupa* p. 152. B. K. Barua *Cultural History of Assam* vol. I p. 161

⁷⁶ *Kāmarūpa Inscriptions* p. 124

⁷⁷ See also I.H.Q. XXVI p. 335

⁷⁸ Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang’s Travels in India* vol. II p. 186

There is no reason to disbelieve the accounts of Yuan Chwang who actually travelled through the land unlike Kalhana who wrote from a place more than 1000 miles distant from Kāmarūpa⁷⁹. It is true that Bhāskaravarman treated the learned Chinese scholar with great respect, but this does not prove his inclination towards Buddhism. It only shows the greatness of his heart. The few sculptural representations of Buddha on stone and terra-cotta plaques, which have been found in Kāmarūpa, need not be taken very seriously. They might have been imported from outside⁸⁰.

We have indicated above where and how the *Dharma-p* came into being and why it was so called. Although a comparatively late work, it has not come down to us unadulterated. A critical study of its text shows that some new portions were added to it, some portions were abandoned, and some portions were altered. The story of Andhaka, which is dealt with in chap. 43, has been given again in chap. 79 in connection with the glorification of Mangala. Their beginnings and conclusions are the same. In the former, Pulastya is the speaker, while in the latter the speaker is Vyāsa who speaks to Vaiśampāyana and not to Bhīṣma. It is, therefore, definite that one of these stories is spurious, and it seems that the latter is so, as it has imbibed Tāntric influence to a greater extent⁸¹. Again, in chap. 74 there is a dialogue between Saṃjaya and Vyāsa, but in vss. 130ff of the same chap. suddenly the speaker changes to Vaiśampāyana who continues in the same capacity in the following chaps. and Saṃjaya is found no more. This undoubtedly proves that it was revised by some person or persons. Again, in chap. 76 vss. 18-20, Skanda desires to know from Śiva, how the latter could incur sin by Brahma-hatyā, but Śiva

⁷⁹ K. L. Barua does not seem to believe in the accounts of Yuan Chwang's travels, as he remarks, "It seems that Yuan Chwang made an exaggerated statement, for in his biography Śīlabhadra is said to have informed him before he started for Kāmarūpa that the law of Buddha had then not widely extended in that country. This indicates that Buddhism was then prevailing in the kingdom but not to a wide extent."—*Early History of Kāmarūpa* p. 151.

⁸⁰ K. L. Barua *Cultural History of Assam*, vol. 1 p. 161 fn. 131.

⁸¹ Sriyākhanda 79. 44.

is found to give in 45 vss⁸² a pretty long reply which is wide of the mark. This shows that either some portion of the question is spurious or the relevant portion of Śiva's answer has been left out. Further, vss 47-49 of chap 79 also may be regarded as spurious, for the dialogue between Brahma and Nārada, which terminated in chap 46, cannot be expected in the above vss.

Here a question arises as to how the *Dharma p* which, as we have already seen, was written in Kamarūpa, could be incorporated into the *Srṣṭi khanda*, in which the Kamarūpiya brahmins have been denounced on two occasions. In chap 10 vss 14-16 it has been said that one, desirous of performing Śrāddha ceremony, should seat a brahmin couple on a bed, mix with curd and milk a small piece of bone collected from the forehead of the deceased person and made into fine powder, and feed that couple with that mixture. It further adds that this custom was seen among the first class Parvatiya brahmins⁸³. It should be mentioned here that although the relevant vss on this peculiar custom do not occur in the Bengal mss of the *Srṣṭi khanda*, all of which come from very late date, they have been quoted by Ballalasena⁸⁴ and Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, of whom the latter remarks in his *Haralata* that by the word 'Parvatiya' the brahmins of Kamarupa have been meant⁸⁵. The second

⁸² *Srṣṭi khaṇḍa* 76 21-45

⁸³ upavesya tu śayyāyām madhuparkam tato dade /
arghyam dattvā tu pātreṇa dadh -dugdha-samanv tam / /
asthi lalāṣajam gṛhya sukṣmam kṛtvā v m śrayet /
payayed dvija dāmpatyam p tṛ bhaktyā samanvitaḥ / /
eṣa eva v dh r-dṛṣṭaḥ pārvatiya r-dv jottama ḥ /
tena duṣṭā tu sā śayyā na grāhyā dv ja-sattamaib / /

It is interesting to note that the custom of administering powdered bone of the deceased to the recipients of beds was prevalent in the brahmin Zamindar families of Mymensingh (now in East Pakistan) till the other day and these recipients were locally called *Hadg lā* (i.e. bone-eating) brahmins.

This custom prevailed in the Nagā community also. cf. *The Statesman Calcutta* thursday April 2 1953 p 1 col 8 (under the heading *Naga Chieftains pledge to give up Head hunting*). The chieftain of Tsawlaw leader of another head hunting tribe and his lieutenants touched a tiger's tooth and *chewed a bit of the rance for bones* in an oath never to wage war again.

⁸⁴ *Dana-sāgara* (ms. no. 1374 of the Vangya Sahitya Parṣat) fol. 13b

⁸⁵ Aniruddhabhaṭṭa *Haralata* p. 193

mention of the Kāmarūpīya brahmins is found in chap. 17, vss. 176-178a⁸⁶, wherein it is said that Sāvitrī cursed the goddesses saying that Lakṣmī would not live with them but would reside with the Mlecchas and the Pārvatīyas. As to the occurrence of these two references in the Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa it may be said that these must have been added by the brahmins of Mithilā who settled in Kāmarūpa and looked down upon the local brahmins. The latter seem to have experienced better days under the rule of the Mleccha dynasty and this was why the Maithilī brahmins became jealous of them and referred to their customs with disrespect.

(2) THE BHŪMI-KHAṆḌA

In the course of our remarks on the Devanāgarī recension of the Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa we have noted why the question of determining its proper place among other Khaṇḍas appears to be a difficult task. There were, we have noticed, at least two contrary statements on this issue. No controversy, however, would arise with regard to the attribution of proper place to the Bhūmi-khaṇḍa. In all the printed editions of the *Padma-p.*¹, as well as in all its available mss. both Bengali and Devanāgarī, the Bhūmi-khaṇḍa has been given the second place. This is also the case with the available lists of the Khaṇḍa or Parva division of the *Padma-p.* Hence, after our analysis of the Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa we propose to take up the Bhūmi-khaṇḍa² as our subject of study.

There are strong grounds to believe that the present Bhūmi-khanda which has come down to us was not the original one. Very likely the whole of it has been revised, rewritten and recast. Its apocryphal nature may be detected if one carefully goes through the original portion of the Sṛṣṭi-khanda which seems to be earlier and more genuine. In our analysis of the Sṛṣṭi-khanda we have tried to show what constitutes its earliest portion. In that portion a short description of the contents of each Parva (Khanda) has been given. There a short synopsis of the Bhūmi-khanda also is found. But, unfortunately this description of the subject-matter of the Bhūmi-khanda is in no way similar to the contents of the Bhūmi-khanda as we see it today. It is, however, true that the present Bhūmi-khanda contains towards its end a summary of the contents discussed in it, but it should be noted that this summary is conspicuous by its absence in the older version thereof. According to the Parva divisions of the *Padma-p*, which has been shown to be the earlier division, the second part is named Tirtha-parva which deals with planatory geography³. According to the Bengal mss also, the second Parva predominantly deals with a good number of sacred places⁴. Moreover, the first chap. of the Bengal ms. of the Svarga-khanda states clearly that the Khanda previous to it, deals with the geography of the earth and has the serpent Śeṣa and the sage Vātsyāyana as the main interlocutor and hearer respectively. From the latter Vyāsa is appraised of the matter which he reports to the father of the Sūta, from whom again the Sūta comes to know of them⁵.

³ dvitīyaṁ tīrthaparva syāt sarva graha-gaṇāśrayam Sṛṣṭi khanda (Anss. ed.) I 55

⁴ dvitīyaṁ parva tīrtham ca sarva tīrtha-guṇāśrayam Mss. of the Sṛṣṭi khanda belonging to the Vaidya Sāhitya Parīṣat (no. 756) f. 3a

⁵ sūta uttara

śeṣa bhīṣa tam-ākarma tathā bhūgola varṇanam/

pitā me punar-āprechat pranata vīdarīyanam//

sa mātanya tu bhūgolam munir vātsyāyanah punah

kim-aprechac-cheṣanāgam tad bhavān vaktum arhau / var. 12

See ms. of the Svarga khanda of the *Padma-p* (no. A. 1623 of the Dacca University Mss. Library) f. 1a

* 11-11-11

Indra that he (Gitavidyādhara) has performed what he has been asked to do by his master Indra. But actually, we do not find any reference to such request or order given to the Gitavidyādhara by Indra. Thus it is obvious that either some coherent portions of this section have been lost or the whole of the Gitavidyādhara episode is a later fabrication. Moreover, it is to be noted that the story of Prthu and Venṛ which commences independently from the beginning of the twentysixth chap and runs to the end has no link with the previous chaps. One can, therefore, easily understand these two broad divisions of the Bhūmī khanda viz, (i) the first twentyfive chaps and, (ii) that from chap 26 to the end.

A penetrating search will show that the second portion has been added later as all evidences of a late period are discernible in this section. The thirtysixth chap bears traces of the later phase of development of the Jain Philosophy. The distinct mention of the name Turuska (which undoubtedly points to the Mohammedans who invaded India about the 9th century A D) which is found in the seventy-eighth chap¹⁰ also points to that conclusion. A later idea of the origin of Sūta, which does not coincide with that as given in the *Vayu-p*, has been discussed in the twentyseventh chap¹¹. Moreover, undue importance has been given in that portion to the Tulasi plant, which is unmistakably a mark of its later origin.

The fixing of the date of the first section, i e, the first twentyfive chaps, will enable us to fix the date of the second part. In the first section¹² Buddha has been mentioned as one of the incarnations of Visnu. It is generally accepted that Buddha came to be recognised as an incarnation of Visnu from about 550 A D¹³. Moreover, at the very beginning of the first chap of this Khanda, the sages ask Sūta to narrate that story in the Purāṇas in which Prahlād is said

¹⁰ mama vaṃśa-samudbhūtās turuṣkā mleccha rupiṇaḥ Bhūmī khaṇḍa 78 40

¹¹ Ibid chap 27 vs 65b-67

¹² namaḥ kṛṣṇāya buddhāya Ib d 18 66

¹³ R. C. Hazra *Purāṇic Records* p 41

to have worshipped Keśava when the former was only five years of age¹⁴ It appears from this, that the author was referring to the *Bhagavata p* where alone the age of Prahlada along with his story has been given¹⁵ Now the date of the *Bhagavata p* has been fixed as the sixth century A D ¹⁶ Thus we see that the upper limit cannot go beyond the seventh century A D as at least a span of 100 years should be allowed to intervene between the two works, viz, more recent and the older one, and it is highly probable that it was written between 700 and 800 A D

The argument that Bhūmī khanda should be placed in a still later period as none of the Smṛti writers quote from it is not sufficiently convincing The Smṛti writers generally quote those texts of the Puranas where Smarta rites and customs are delineated, as such texts help them in establishing their point of view But this portion of the Bhūmī khanda does not contain any element which can be utilised by any Smṛti writer It is nothing more than a mere collection of some legendary tales So it is more probable that the Smṛti writers, although they were conversant with the existence of this portion of the Bhūmī khanda did not make use of it as they did not find anything helpful for their purpose

As for the date of the second portion, we think, we shall have little difficulty to reach a decision We have already referred to the Turuskas as mentioned in this portion They had come to India about the ninth century A D So the conclusion is irresistible that the same happens to be the lower limit

We shall now show on the strength of the Bengal mss of the Bhūmī khanda of the *Padma p* that the Bengal or East Indian text of the Bhūmī khanda was an earlier one in comparison with the Devanagari text of it The former seems not to be acquainted with the *Bhagavata p*, as there is no

¹⁴ kec t paṭhan prahlādam purāṇeṣu dvijo amah/

pañca varṣān enāp keśavaḥ par toś aḥ/ / Bhūmī khanda I 2

¹⁵ saubhādam dustyajaṁ p tīrṇ al ād yāḥ pañca hāyanaḥ *Bhāgavata p* v 5 36

¹⁶ R C Hazra *Puranic Record* p 55

mention about Prahlāda's age. The necessary lines read as 'yat-svadharmā-hitenāpi' for 'pañca-varṣānvitenāpi' of the Devanāgarī text. The Bengal ms. contains an earlier set of hearer and interlocutor who were Śeṣa the serpent and the sage Vātsyāyana respectively. It contains some description of the geography of the earth (which justify the name Bhūmi-khaṇḍa), and of some sacred places which include first of all Puskara—the abode of Brahmā and some eastern tirthas such as the Karatoyā. As Puskara has been very much glorified and as it has been given the first place among all the tirthas, it can perhaps be safely remarked that the original Bhūmi-khaṇḍa was written in East India during the eighth century by the Brahmā-worshippers. We have shown before that at that period East India was a stronghold of Brahmāism. Later, the Bhūmi-khaṇḍa was taken up by the Vaiṣnavas who must have been residing in the territories near the river Reva (as it appears from the innumerable glorifications of that river in the printed texts all of which come from the Devanāgarī recension). The Vaiṣnavas had probably eliminated the geographical features and the glorifications of Puskara and other places associated with it, invented some stories glorifying the Jangama tirtha (not the Sthāvara-tirthas of the Bengal mss.) and incorporated them therein. Their attempt proved successful. The influence of the Brahmā-worshippers in the original Bhūmi-khaṇḍa disappeared and gradually the people took this Khaṇḍa as a Vaiṣnava work delineating and eulogising the glorifications of Viṣṇu.

(3) THE SVARGA-KHAṆḌA (ĀDI & BRAHMA-KHAṆḌA)

According to the Vang ed. of the *Padma p.* the Svarga-khaṇḍa occupies the third place. It is quite natural that after carefully and elaborately delineating the Bhūmi, i.e., the earth, the narration of the Svarga (the upper land or the heaven) has been taken up. But unfortunately, as we

observed in our first chap., in the Anss. ed. of the *Padma-p.* no such division bearing the name Svarga is found. Incidentally it should be pointed out that the whole of the contents of the Svarga-khaṇḍa is found in the Anss. ed. also. In the latter ed. the Ādi and the Brahma-khaṇḍa combined together constitute the Svarga-khaṇḍa of the Vang. ed. Thus to be precise—that part of the *Padma-p.* which has been published under the title Svarga-khaṇḍa by the Vang. Press is nothing but the combination of the Ādi and the Brahma-khaṇḍa as found in the Anss. ed. In the Veṅkat. ed. of the *Padma-p.*, the Svarga-khaṇḍa of the *Padma-p.* is named the Ādi-khaṇḍa. Although the Veṅkaṭ. ed. does not contain the name of the Brahma-khaṇḍa, it retains the whole of it.

The name Svarga-khaṇḍa appears to be more correct and authentic because the Pātāla-khaṇḍa which follows it categorically mentions that it is the Svarga-khaṇḍa which immediately precedes the Pātāla-khaṇḍa.¹ There are two passages in the Ādi-khaṇḍa of the Anss. and Veṅkat. editions where Ādi-khaṇḍa and Ādi-sarga have been mentioned. The vss. in question are as follows:

tatrādāv-ādi-khaṇḍam syād bhūmi-khaṇḍam tatah
param/²

and ādi-sargam-aham tāvat kathayāmi dvijottamāḥ /
jñāyate yena bhagavān paramātmā sanātanah //³

Here Khaṇḍa and Sarga obviously refer to the same thing, both meaning portion or part. But the mss consulted for preparing the Anss. ed. are not unanimous in their readings of the first passage. Two mss marked kha and ñ clearly read Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍam instead of Ādi-khaṇḍam. According to them the reading is as follows:

tatrādaḥ sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍam syād bhūmi-khaṇḍam tatah
param⁴

¹ gṛaya ācub

śrutam sarvam mahābhāga svarga khaṇḍam manoharam Pāṇḍya khaṇḍa I 2a

² Ādi-khaṇḍa I. 22a.

³ Ibid II 1

⁴ Ibid p. 2, l. 2

The Vaṅg. ed. of the Svarga-khanda reads adya svargam-aham tāvat kathayāmi dvijottamāh instead of ādisargam-aham tāvat⁵. The *Nāradya-p.* speaks of the Svarga-khanda and gives its summary.

The Ādi-khanda which as we have observed comprises the first part of the Svarga-khanda, can neither claim to be a genuinely original work nor can it command a respectable antiquity.

The Ādi-khanda in its Anss. ed. contains sixtytwo chaps.⁶ among which at least thirtysix chaps. are in common with some of the other Purānas. The following analysis may be helpful in this connection.

Ādi-khanda 13.2-32	= <i>Matsya-p</i>	186.6-36
„ 14-21	= „	187-194 respectively ⁷
„ 30	= <i>Padma-p.</i>	243 3-42
	(Uttara-khanda) ⁸	
„ 31	= „	243.43-96
		244.67-88 and 245
„ 33.3-64	= <i>Kūrma-p.</i>	I. 30.16-78
„ 34	= „	I. 31 3-29
„ 35-37	= „	I. 32-34 respectively ⁹
„ 40 14b-38	= <i>Matsya-p</i>	103
„ 41-48	= „	104-111 respectively
„ 49	= „	112 1-17 ¹⁰
„ 51 5-67	= <i>Kūrma-p</i>	12.

⁵ Svarga khaṇḍa (Vaṅg ed) I 18a

⁶ The first part of the Vaṅg ed of the Svarga khaṇḍa which corresponds to the Ādi khaṇḍa of the Anss ed consists of thirtythree chaps. Generally one chap of the Vaṅg ed covers two chaps of the Anss ed. Hence the anomaly in the numbering of the chaps may not be seriously considered.

⁷ In the *Matsya-p* context the speaker here is Markaṇḍeya while the Ādi khaṇḍa has Nārada as the speaker. Some vss (twelve) of chap 187 of the *Matsya-p* are not found in chap 14 of the Ādi khaṇḍa. Chap 188 also contains more vss than chap 15.

⁸ The difference lies in the name of the speaker only. Nārada is the principal speaker in that portion of the Ādi khaṇḍa, while the Uttara khaṇḍa has Dattātreya as its speaker.

⁹ The first nineteen vss (except vs 1) of the thirtyfourth chap of the *Kūrma-p* constitute the thirtyseventh chap of the Ādi khaṇḍa.

¹⁰ The last five vss of chap 112 where there is a reported speech of Nandikeśvara and Suta in the *Matsya-p* are not found in the Ādi khaṇḍa chap 49.

„ 52-56	= „	13-17 respectively
„ 57-65	= „	26-29 ¹¹

It has been held that as regards these common chaps. the Ādi-khanda is the borrower¹². These portions of the *Matsya-p.* and the *Kūrma-p.* from which identical vss. have been taken and used in the Ādi-khanda may be dated most probably between 800 and 1200 A.D.¹³ Thus the Ādi-khanda or the first part of the Svarga-khanda of the *Padma-p.* cannot be supposed to have been written or compiled before 1000 A.D.

Its more recent origin is also proved by the mark of later Vaisnavism dealt with in it. Nowhere in this Khanda such stamps of early production as invocation to Brahmā, glorifications of Brahmā-worshippers are observable. On the contrary a few chaps. towards the end deal profusely with Visnu-bhakti and high respect to Visnu and Vaisnava. Although, perhaps the main theme of this Khanda is to offer a glimpse into the mystery of the creation of the universe and to delineate the glories of a number of sacred places and rivers, the whole of it is redolent of Visnu-māhātmya.

¹¹ For a comparative study the following analysis of the different chaps. of the Ādi khanda and the *Kūrma p.* is given

Ādi khanda	51	karma-yoga kathanam = <i>Kūrma</i>	12	brāhmaṇānām upanayanādi-karma-yogo nāma etc
„	52	karma yoga kathanam = <i>Kūrma</i>	13	brahmadevyāyām ācamanādi-karma-yogo nāma etc
„	53	karma yoga kathanam = <i>Kūrma</i>	14	brahmadevyāyām vedādhyayanādi kramaniyamo nāma etc
„	54	dharma kathanam = <i>Kūrma</i>	15	brahmadevyāyām dharmādhyāyo nāma etc
„	55	dharma-kathanam = <i>Kūrma</i>	16	brahmadevyāyām āramācāranīyama-dharmo nāma etc
„	56	bhaktya-bhaktya nivama kathanam = <i>Kūrma</i>	17	bhaktya-bhaktya-nirṇayo nāma etc
„	57	gṛhastha-dharma nirṇaya = <i>Kūrma</i>	26	brahmadevyāyām dīna-dharmādi kathanam nāma etc
„	58	vānaprasthāramācāra kathanam = <i>Kūrma</i>	27	brahmadevyāyām vānaprasthārama-dharmo nāma etc
„	59	yau-dharma nirṇanam = <i>Kūrma</i>	28	brahmadevyāyām yatidharmo nāma etc
„	60	No name of the chap. is found in the colophon = <i>Kūrma</i>	29	brahmadevyāyām yatidharmo nāma etc

¹² R. C. Hazra, *Pandua Records* pp. 107, 111

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 112

The latter part of the Svarga-khanda, i.e., Brahma-khanda of the Anss ed is a very short one consisting of twenty-six chaps only. It deals mainly with the glorification of Visnu. It is said that the people who besmear a Visnu-temple with cowdung or even accidentally apply some lime over the walls of it or make the gift of a lamp to it go straight to the Visnu-loka. It is also concerned with the descriptions of the merits of observing some Vaisnava vratas such as, Jayantī-vrata, Guruvāra-vrata, Hari-jaṁmāstamī and Rādhāstamī-vrata, Harivāsara-vratā, Visnupañcaka-vrata and the worship of Visnu on the full-moon day. Moreover, the water which is being touched by Visnu's feet has been highly spoken of and glorified, the month of Kārttika and the Tulasī plant have been eulogised. Various stories have been told about the merits of observing these vratas or festivals. The author or compiler of this Khanda while describing the Rādhāstamī (the birthday festival of Rādhā) has narrated the story of Samudra manthana. The brahmins have been glorified in more than one chap.

There are unmistakable signs in this Khanda from which it can be safely remarked that it comes from a very late date. The whole of the chap. 7 deals profusely with the birthday festival of Rādhā, the eternal female consort of Kṛṣṇa. Moreover, here and there we come across references to Rādhā worship and glorification of Rādhā-worshippers. The term 'consort or beloved of Hari' (hari priya) has been given to the Tulasī plant which has been highly eulogised. The garland of Tulasī can remove all sins.¹⁴ One who holds the Tulasī garland on his neck, is respected even by the denizens of the heaven.¹⁵ Similar other observations on the Tulasī plant are found. Some chaps speak highly of the gifts of lamps to the shrines of Visnu. All these are unmistakable stamps of a very late age. The ancient works like the *Mbh*, *Ram*, *Harivamśa* and the earlier Purāṇas do not anywhere mention the name of Rādhā or the Rādhā-

¹⁴ Brahma-khaṇḍa 22. 3a. 4b. 8. 9 etc.

¹⁵ Ib. d. 22. 12.

worshippers. The sect of¹⁶ the Rādhā-vallabhins who look at Rādhā as the eternal Śakti, it is held, arose not before the 16th century A.D. From the inscriptional records it is known that the gift of lamps to the temples became popular in southern India from about the end of the ninth century A.D.¹⁷ All these considerations point to the late date of composition of this Khanda. This is supported by the evidence of the Nibandha-writers who have nowhere taken in their writings any passage from this Khanda nor have even referred to it although some portions of this Khanda might have suited their purpose. The *Nāradya-p.*, however, includes its contents.¹⁸ Hence it can be said that this Brahma-khanda is not later than 1400 A.D. Thus we find that the approximate date of the Svarga-khanda of the *Padma-p.* may be fixed between 1200 and 1400 A.D.

(4) THE PĀTĀLA-KHANDA

The Pātāla-khanda has been regarded as an integral part of the *Padma-p.* in both its recensions, i.e., Devanāgarī

¹⁶ J. N. Farquhar, *Outline of Religious Literature of India* p. 318, Grierson, E. R. E. X pp. 559ff

¹⁷ Two of the Vatteluttu inscriptions (no. 81 and 82 of the Govt. epigraphist's collection for 1896) which are found in the Sthanunātha temple at Suchindram and belonging to the reign of the Cola King Parakēśarivarman, i.e., the Cola King Parāntaka I, record the gift of a lamp to the Śiva-temple and two lamps to the two shrines of Viṣṇu respectively (Ep. Ind. V. 99-42-43).

Two more inscriptions of Parāntaka I were found in the Śiva temple in a village named Tirunāmanallur in the south Arcot district and at Tirukkalukkuṇṇam respectively. One records the gifts of two lamps by a servant of Kōkkilanaḍi, the queen of Parāntaka I and the mother of his son Rājādityadeva (Ep. Ind. VII p. 133). The other records the gift of a perpetual lamp to the Tirukkalukkuṇṇam temple (Ep. Ind. III p. 281).

Two inscriptions belonging to the reign of Kulottunga Cola I record the gift of lamps to temples. One declares the grant of a perpetual lamp to [the temple of] Śiva at Śvetāranya (nitya-dīpan-nyadhātta śvetaranye śivāya Ep. Ind. V p. 104). The second records the gift of a lamp to the temple of Śiva at Āḍhipura (āḍhipura vaṣi-maheśvaraya prādat prabaddha tūmarāka tūpum pradīpam Ep. Ind. V p. 106).

It is evident that Parāntaka I and Kulottunga had ruled from 907 to 955 and 1070-1120 A.D. (K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas* pp. 111, 134 and 301).

One inscription (no. 338 of 1902) of Śaka samvat 876 records the gift of a lamp by the queen of a Chief of Munai (Ep. Ind. VII p. 137).

It is needless to multiply examples.

¹⁸ That portion of the *Nāradya-p.* which deals with the summary of the contents of the Brahma-khanda, cannot be dated later than 1400 A.D. See R. C. Hazra, *Purāṇic Records* p. 116.

and Bengal. The importance of this Khanda lies in the fact that it mentions the topics of those Khandas which precede it in the present text of the *Padma-p.* According to it Vātsyāyana once said to Śesa the serpent, 'O Śesa ! (I have heard) from you in their entirety the stories of creation, destruction etc. of the universe. You have also spoken to me, O sinless one, of planetary geography, terrestrial geography, determination of circles of luminaries, separate determination of the true nature of the creation of Mahat-tattva etc., the lives of various kings and the splendid careers of the kings of the solar race; and among these, the story of Rāma which removes multitude of great sins, has been narrated. I have also heard, in brief, the story of the Aśvamedha sacrifice of that hero (named) Rāma ¹'

It is evident from our knowledge of the *Padma-p.* in its present form, that the above-mentioned topics formed the nucleus of those parts of the *Padma-p.* which preceded the Pātāla-khanda. It may, for instance, be stated that the Sṛsti-khanda contains the stories of creation, destruction etc. of the universe and also separate determination of the true nature of the creation of Mahat-tattva etc. Geography is dealt with in the Bhūmī-khanda; and the stories of the lives of various kings and the special careers of the kings of the solar race are to be found in the Svarga-khanda of the Bengal recension.

The importance of this Khanda is further heightened as it partly settles the vexed problem of the arrangement of the *Padma-p.* when it says that the beautiful Svarga-khanda precedes it.² Here Svarga-khanda refers to the text of the Bengal recension as it is only the Bengal recension of the Svarga-khanda which contains the lives of various kings and the special careers of the kings of the solar race. The Svarga-khanda of the Devanāgarī recension as found in the Vang. and Venkat editions does not contain the aforesaid topics and it is the same as the Ādi and the Brahma-khanda

¹ Pātāla khanda I 4-7

² Ibid 1 2 śrutam sarvaṃ mahabhāga svarga khaṇḍam maṇḍharam.

of the Anusṭubh about which we have discussed elsewhere. It is evident therefore that the arrangement of the Khaṇḍas as found in the Anusṭubh is wrong as there we find the Brahma-khaṇḍa preceding the Pātāla-khaṇḍa.

On a careful scrutiny it can be observed that the Pātāla-khaṇḍa consists of three parts which are entirely independent and unconnected with one another. These three parts are as noted below in order of their age.

- 1 Chaps. 1-68
- 2 Chaps. 100 to the end
- 3 Chaps. 69-99

All the three groups are quite distinct in form and character and deserve separate consideration.

Group 1

On a careful study it can be shown that this group was the earliest of the three and was completely a work of the Rāmāntes who took a fancy for the Pātāla-khaṇḍa and used it freely to propagate their doctrines. These Rāmāntes did not think it advantageous for them to follow the narration of Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa at every step. On the contrary, they built up several stories which were quite different from those of the Rāmāyaṇa, and inserted them in the Pātāla-khaṇḍa in a clever manner. The innovations introduced by them and their deviations from the main Rāmāyaṇa will be discussed in their proper places.

kānda, its summary of the contents of the Bala-kānda (from Daśaratha's Putrestī sacrifice down to Rāma's advent to Citrakuta mountain with Sita and Lakṣmana, and Rāma's refusal to go back to the capital even though entreated by Bharata, who also did not return to Ayodhyā but chose to remain at Nandigrāma) includes portions of the Ayodhya-kānda also. The information about the number of ślokaś of the *Rām* is also to be had from it ⁴

As is the case with most of the Purāṇas, the determination of the correct date of this part of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa is really a very difficult task. Prof. S. K. Belvalkar is of opinion that the first portion (which is the earliest of the three as will be discussed later) of this Khaṇḍa is anterior to Bhavabhūti's *Uttara-rama-carita*, as he says, "More probably, however, Bhavabhūti derived his materials (for the *Uttara-rāma-carita*) from the first twenty-eight chapters of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the *Padma-purāṇa*⁵". He further observes that "Bhavabhūti's source for the incidents in acts IV-VI of the *Uttara-rama-carita* must undoubtedly have been some account like that in the *Padma-purāṇa*⁶", as he finds "no support that this Rāmaśvamedha-prakarana in the *Padma-purāṇa* was posterior to Bhavabhūti⁷". Bhavabhūti, as we all know, flourished most probably near the close of the seventh century. So, if we accept Prof. Belvalkar's observation in this respect, the Pātāla-khaṇḍa is to be dated at least a hundred years before Bhavabhūti, i.e., at about the end of the sixth century A.D. Let us discuss whether it is possible to accept this date.

It is necessary in this connection to point out some characteristic features of the *Rām* stories occurring in the *Uttara-rama-carita* and this portion of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the *Padma-p* but not found in the *Rām* proper. This part deals at length with the horse sacrifice of Rāmacandra. The sacrificial horse marched victoriously through Pāñcāla, Kuru,

⁴ caturviṃśati-sahasraṃ ṣaṭ kāṇḍa paricchinītam. Pātāla khaṇḍa 66-183a

⁵ S. K. Belvalkar *Rama's Later History* pt. I p. lvii (bracketed portion is ours)

⁶ *Ib. d.* p. lv

⁷ *Ibid.* p. lvi

Uttarakuru, Daśarna, Ujjayini, Ahicchatra, the land of the Payosni (river), Ratnātata, the land of the Gandaki (river), Nīla (mountain), Cakrāṅka, Tejapura, the land of the Revā (river), Devapura, Hemakuta (mountain), Anga, Vanga, and Kalinga. Moreover, this part deals elaborately with the war between Śatrughna attended by his followers, viz., Hanumān, Suratha, Sugriva and others on the one side, and Kuśa and Lava on the other as the latter tried to snatch away the sacrificial horse from its keepers. The result was that all the forces on Śatrughna's side including himself fell down senseless and they were completely overpowered by the prowess of Kusa and Lava. They bound the leaders of the defeated party and brought them to Sītā.⁸ She at once recognised those people and revived them by her power.⁹ In the fourth and fifth acts of the *Uttara-rama carita* we find a story in a similar vein—the fight between Rama's soldiers and Lava. The genius of Bhavabhūti prevented him from delineating all topics which might mar the dramatic effect to a considerable extent. However, the main point (i.e., the defeat of Rama's army) has been the cardinal matter both in the *Uttara-rama carita* and in the Pātala khanda. It is needless to mention that the *Ram* does not deal with any of these topics. Moreover, both in the *Uttara-rama carita* and in the Pātāla-khanda the story has a happy end, i.e., it ends with the union of Rāma and Sītā. The *Ram*, however, has a tragic end. The points of contact in some important matters in contradistinction to the *Ram* tends to suggest that one borrows from the other and we venture to say that the Pātāla khanda has borrowed from the *Uttara rama carita*. It is important to note the observation of P. V. Kane in this regard. He says, "There is great similarity between the

⁸ Pātala khanda 64 38-54

⁹ yady ahaṃ manasā vācā karmaṇā raghu nāyakam/
bhajāmu nānyaṃ manasā tarhi j ved ayam nṛpaḥ /
sanyaṃ cāp mahat sarvaṃ yaṃ nāś tam daṃ balāt/
putrābhyāṃ tat tu jīveta mat-satyāḥ jagatāṃ patib /
iti yāvad vaco brūte jānakī pati-devatā /
tāvat sarvaṃ balaṃ nastam jīvitaṃ raṇa murdhan / /

Ib d 64 78-80

story given in the *Padma-purāna* and the story of the *Uttara-rāma-carita*. Whether Bhavabhūti borrowed from the *Padma-purāna*, it is difficult to say. From the way in which all Purānas have been tampered with and interpolations have been introduced, I would rather say that the *Padma-purāna* is the borrower¹⁰.

There are, however, a few points where the *Padma-p* differs from the *Uttara-rāma carita*. First of all, the *Uttara-rāma-carita* describes only the conquest of Rāma's party by Lava and not the victorious march of Śatrughna's army as has been described elaborately in the *Pātāla-khanda*. Secondly, in the *Uttara-rama-carita* we see that Rāma himself appears suddenly in the battlefield and seeing the twins his affection for them wells up, but in the *Pātāla-khanda*, Rāma does not appear himself and as we have noted before, Sitā revives the defeated army. Thirdly, Bhavabhūti seems to be inclined to Sitā's second ordeal, but there is no mention of it in the *Pātāla-khanda*. Fourthly, the desire which Sitā expresses during her advanced stage of pregnancy, as found in the *Uttara-rama-carita*, is not identical with what is described in the *Pātāla-khanda*. In the latter it is said that Sitā wished to see Lopāmudrā and other devout ladies whom she had seen once long before¹¹ while in the *Uttara rama carita* Sitā wished to revisit the Dandaka forest to wander in those serene and majestic sylvan avenues and to take her bath in the Ganges¹². Besides these there are, however, some other minor details in which the *Pātāla-khanda* differs from the *Uttara-rāma-carita* which we may pass over for the present context. But these points of difference between the two will not suffice to set aside our hypothesis that the one borrows from the other. What we are going to say is that it is not Bhavabhūti the great poet who has borrowed from this

¹⁰ *Uttara-rāma-carita* ed. by P. V. Kane p. xxvii

¹¹ ciram yātan mayā satyo lopāmudrādikāḥ striyaḥ/
dr̥ṣṭāḥ svāmun mano draṣṭum tā utsukati sundarīb/

Pātāla-khanda 55. 12

¹² *Uttara-rāma-carita* Act I

jāne punar-āpi prasaṅga-gambhīrāṇa vanarājya vhaṇyāmi pavitra-saumya
śūdrāvagāhām bhagavatīm bhāgirathīm-avagāhaye

Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the *Padma-p.* but, it is the Pātāla-khaṇḍa which is the borrower. That it is so, can again be proved by some of its expressions which have definitely been taken from the *Uttara-rāma-carita*. Is not the vs.

kotarasthā mahāsarpaḥ phūtkurvanti sukopitāḥ /
ghūkā ghūtkurvate yatra lokacitta-bhayaṃkarāḥ //¹³
of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa a shorter form of the vs.

kūjat-kuñja-kuṭīra-kauśikaghaṭā-ghūtkāravat-kīcaka- /
stambādambara-mūka-maukulikulah krauñcāvato'yaṃ
giriḥ //

etasmin pracalākināṃ pracalatām-udvejitāḥ kūjitair- /
udvellanti purānarohina-taru-skandhesu kumbhīnasāḥ //¹⁴
of the *Uttara-rāma-carita* ? The following observations will strengthen our theory that Bhavabhūti was anterior.

One is led to pose the hypothesis that Bāna's style was imitated by the author or compiler of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa. At least in one place, it can safely be remarked that the illustration of the *Parisamkhyā* alaṃkāra has been copied from Bānabhaṭṭa's *Kādambarī* where the poet excels in delineating this figure of speech with his masterly hand. Let us take the help of examples of each of them.

Pātāla-khaṇḍa

sadambhā nimnagā yatra na yatra janatā kvacit //
kulāny-eva kulīnāni varnānāṃ na dhanāni ca /
vibhramo yatra nārīṣu na vidvatsu ca karhicit //
nadyah kuṭīla-gāminyo na yatra vīṣaye prajāḥ /
tamoyuktāḥ kṣapā yatra bahuleṣu na mānavāḥ //
rajoyujah striyo yatra nā(na) dharma-bahulā narāḥ /
dhanair-anandho yatrāsti jano naiva ca bhojanam //
anayah syandanam yatra na ca vai rāja-pūruṣaḥ /
danḍah paraśu-kuddāla-vāla-vyajana-rājīṣu //
ātapatreṣu nānyatra kvacit krodhoparodhajah /
anyatrākṣika-vṛndebhyah kvacin-na paridevanam //

¹³ Pātāla khaṇḍa 59 3

¹⁴ *Uttara-rāma-carita* Act II 79

āksikā eva drśyante yatra pāsaka-pānayah /
 jādyavārtā jalesv-eva strīmadhyā eva durbalāh //
 kathora-hṛdayā yatra sīmantīnyo na mānavāh /
 osadhisv-eva yatrāsti kuṣṭhayogo na mānave //
 vedho yatra suratnesu śūlam mūrtikaresu vai /
 kampah sāttvika-bhāvottho na bhayāt kvāpi kasyacit //
 saṃjvarah kāmajo yatra dāridryaṃ kalusasya ca /
 durlabhatvam sadaivasya sukrte na ca vastunah //
 ibhā eva pramattā vai yuddhe vīcyo jalāśaye /
 dānahānir-gajesv-eva tīksnā eva hi kantakāh //
 bānesu guna-viśleso bandhoktiḥ pustake drdhā /
 snehatyāgaḥ khalesv-eva na ca vai svajane jane // ¹⁵

Kādambarī

1. (yasmimś-ca rājani jitajagati pālayati mahīm) citra-karmaṣu varna-saṃkarāḥ, ratesu keśagrahāḥ, kāvyesu drdhabandhāḥ, śāstresu cintā, svapnesu vipralambhāḥ .. cāpesu gunacchedaḥ .. turamgesu kaśābhighātaḥ, makaradhvaje cāpadhvanir-abhūt¹⁶.
2. yatra ca malinatā havir-dhūmesu na caritesu, mukha-rāgaḥ śukesu na kopesu, tīksnatā kuśāgresu na svabhāvesu, cañcalatā kadalīdalesu na manahsu, caksūrāgaḥ kokilesu na para-kalatresu . bhujamgamānām bhogah, kapinām śrīphalābhilāsaḥ, mūlānām-adhogatih¹⁷
- 3 (yasmimś-ca rājani) girinām vipaksatā, pratyayānām paratvam, darpanānām-abhimukhāvasthānaṃ, śūlapratimānām durgāślesah, jaladharānām cāpadhāranam, dhvajānām-unnatih . kāmīnī-kuca-bhaṅgesu vakratā, karinām dāna-vicchittih, aksakrīdāsu śūnya-grha-darśanam (prthivyām-āsīt)¹⁸.

The above comparison definitely proves that the author of this portion was very much influenced by the style of Bāna-

¹⁶ Pātāla-khaṇḍa 5 32b-43

¹⁷ Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Kādambarī* pp 10-11

¹⁸ *Ibid* pp 89-90

¹⁹ *Ibid* pp 125-127,

bhatta whom he tried to imitate partially. It will perhaps be unwise to think that Banabhatta, prince of Sanskrit prose-writers, should ever care to imitate the style of a writer of Purāṇa of mediocre ability who had not the least pretension to any kind of ornamental diction. If 75 to 100 years' time be given for Bāna's writings to earn popularity and wide recognition, the first group (which is evidently the earliest) of the Pātāla khaṇḍa cannot be dated earlier than the middle of the eighth century A D. Thus we find that Prof. Belvalkar's opinion cannot be accepted, for Bhavabhūti happens to be anterior to the writer of this group of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa at least by 75 to 100 years. Moreover, there are frequent references to the Tulasī plant which has been glorified to a great extent¹⁹. As it is usually presumed that the reference to this plant is indicative of a later date of composition, one may feel inclined to assign a much later date to this part. It may be contended in this connection that none of that large number of vss. alleged to have been quoted from the *Padma-p* by different Smṛti-writers some of whom have mentioned the name of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa²⁰, can be found in this part. But from this it will be unwise to jump to the conclusion that this portion was written not before those Smṛti-works, for that will give rise to the fallacy of *argumentum ex silentio*. It is more probable that the Smṛti-writers finding this portion of the Khaṇḍa not helpful for their purposes had not quoted from it. Really this portion did not possess any chap. which might be helpful to the Smṛti-writers²¹. Thus taking all these

¹⁹ tulasī mastake yasya śilā hṛdi manoharā/
mukhe karṇe thavā rāma nāma mukta-tadaiva saḥ/ /
tasmād-anena tulasī mastake vidhṛtā purā/
śrāvitaṃ rāma nāmāṣu śilā hṛdi sudhāritā/ /

Pātāla khaṇḍa 20 81-82

tulasī vallabhā yasya kadācid yac-ch rodharām/
na muñcati ramānātha pāda padma-arag uttamā/ /
Ibid 32 6

dadarīa suratham bhupam tulasī mañjarkīharam/
rāmabhadram rasanayā bruvantaṃ sevakān nujān/ /
Ibid 50 21

²⁰ *Vīram troya* Pūjā-prakāśa p. 504 and *Vidhāna-pārijata* vol. II p. 520

²¹ References to Smṛti matters are not wanting but these are few and far between and of little importance

evidences into consideration, it would be wise to say that this part of the Pātāla khanda which constituted the nucleus of it and was an original contribution of the Rāmaites was composed not earlier than 750 A D

Group 2

We have stated earlier that this part consists of several chaps towards the end of the extant Pātāla khanda of the *Padma-p*. In fact, chaps beginning from 100 and continuing up to the end come under this group

We have noted that group 1 which constitutes the nucleus of the Pātāla-khanda was purely a contribution of the Rāmaites. But this Rāmaite influence on the Pātāla khanda did not find favour with the Linga worshippers who, in their spirit of adherence to their own sect adopted the group 2, and tried to replace the whole of it by fanciful glorifications of Linga and Śiva who were according to them, much superior to Rāma who often bowed down to the Great Omniscient and Omnipotent Lord Śiva. In this part the sole endeavour of the Linga worshippers is confined to showing greatness of Śiva—His greater power than that of Rāma or Viṣṇu. It will be a matter of no mean interest to refer to some relevant vss to show how Rāma or Viṣṇu was much below the status of Śiva. While praising Śiva highly, Viṣṇu says, "O Lord 'I have devoutly worshipped you for a thousand years daily with a thousand lotuses, still you have not shown your feet to me'²²" Śiva and Viṣṇu were engaged in mirthful water sports many a time. Viṣṇu was drowned by Śiva who jumped up on the shoulders of Viṣṇu, caught his hands and made him sink²³. It has been said that once while worshipping Śiva, Haṛi had offered his eyes to Him for want of

²² Ibid 110 187

mayā varṣa sahasraṁ tu sahasrābjaḥ tathānvaham/
bhaktya saṁpūj to'plīa pado na darś tas-tvayā/ /

²³ Ibid 110 151b-152

atrāntare hareḥ skandham āruroha mahēśvaraḥ//
hary uttamaṅgaṁ bahubhyāṁ grhītvā sa nyamajjayat/
unmajjayitvā ca punaḥ punaś-cāpi punaḥ punaḥ

flowers²⁴. Once in the body of Rāma there appeared a shadow of Maheśa—four-armed and three-eyed²⁵. After beautifully eulogising Śiva, Viṣṇu fell down at the feet of Him²⁶. On one occasion Pārvatī went to the extent of rebuking Śiva. Hearing that, Viṣṇu who was present there was about to put an end to his life by tearing away his head with his nails as he did not like to live at a place where Śiva was decried; but he was prevented from doing so by Śiva Himself²⁷. In chap. 112. vs. 181, Rāma glorifies Śiva in great respect. He recites fiftyseven names of Śiva (the name Śubha-carita has been mentioned twice) in address and bows down to Him saying *namas-te namas-te*. In another context it is remarked that as Rāma was not conversant with the Purāṇas, he invited Śiva to teach him the Purāṇas. But it is interesting to note that although Rāma approached Śiva for an instruction of the Purāṇas, still Rāma asked Him to tell him something about Liṅgārcana-prakāra etc²⁸. The Māhātmyas of the Purāṇas although related, have been only of secondary importance. The Liṅga-worshippers were so anxious to propagate their sectarian doctrines that they could not resist from saying that it is Maheśvara, who is the speaker of the *Padma-p.* and in it the characteristics of the Pramathas the lord of whom was Śiva himself have been described²⁹. Thus they tried to convince the people that the whole of the *Padma-p.* was originally a contribution of the Śaivaites. While stray references to the worship of Hari are not wanting³⁰,

²⁴ Ibid. 106 34b *puspābhāve harir-netram* //

²⁵ Ibid. 101 111

pratibimbam atho gātre rāmasya samadriyata/

dr̥ṣṭvaiva bimbataṁ sambhum caturbāhum trilocanam/ //

²⁶ Ibid. 101 232b *ity-udīrya mahāvīṇuḥ śivapāde papāta ha//*

[for the glorification see Ibid. 101 191 232]

²⁷ Ibid. 110 267 270

²⁸ See fn. 31

²⁹ Pātāla khaṇḍa 109 22

purāṇaṁ pādmaṁ . maheśvarena kathitaṁ pramathākṛti-varṇanam//

³⁰ Ibid. 110 390

dhyānam-eva kṛte śreṣṭhaṁ tretāyāṁ yajñam-eva ca/

dvāpare cārcanam tṛtīye dānam ca hari-kīrtanam//

Also Ibid. 110 430 etc

in this portion these are very few and far between and deserve no serious attention

But it should be mentioned here that in their zeal to propagate their view-points, the Linga-worshippers wrote this group and added it to the Pātāla-khaṇḍa in such a hopeless way that the spuriousness of this group is clearly manifest. It is interesting to note that not a single vs. belonging to this group is found in the Bengal mss. of the Pātāla khaṇḍa of the *Padma p*. Moreover, the following lines of this part show its complete dissociation from group 1. It has been mentioned in group 2 that once Śaṃkara came to Ayodhyā to meet Rāma. The latter, after due reception and worship of Śaṃkara, asked him to tell him about some Māhatmyas. He said, "The method of worshipping a linga, the glorifications of the same, praise of (uttering) the name of Maheśa and of worshipping, saluting and seeing him, praise of giving water, offering incense, lamps, scents etc., glorifications of flowers, sanctifying narration of various anecdotes and historic tales, (discourses on) Dharma, Artha, Kāma, Mokṣa and the ways of attaining them—all these I wish to hear from you, O greatest of the great sages and one of celebrated vow³¹." But besides these, this part deals with many other topics of interest such as Bhasma-māhatmya etc. which have been discussed rather abruptly without any previous introduction.

But, however spurious this portion may be, the compiler or writer of this part thought himself too clever, in as much as he, in order to give its subject-matter the appearance of a portion of the *Ram* story as dealt with in group 1, in order to establish a link with it, and to wipe out the marks of spurious

* I ṅārcana prakāraṃ ca | ṅga māhātmyam eva ca/
maheśa nāma māhātmyaṃ puṣṭi māhātmyam-eva ca/ |
namaskāraṣya māhātmyam dṛṣṭi māhātmyam eva ca/
jala-dānasya māhātmyam dhupa-dānasya sattama/ |
dīpa gandhād -danasya puṣpa māhātmyam-eva ca/
nānākhyāntuhāsānāṃ kathāṃ pāpa pranāśa nīm/ |
dharmaṛtha kāma mokṣāṃś-ca tad upayāṃś-ca suvrata/
tat sarvaṃ śrotum-icchāmi tvatīo muni varottama/ |

Ib d 100 23 26

The vs. from 23b-25a do not occur in the Vang ed. of the Pātāla khaṇḍa. The Venkaṭ ed. of the Pātāla khaṇḍa possesses a l the vs. Venkaṭ ed 104 23 26

ness of its character, narrated the *Rām.* story at length beginning from the birth of Rāma and his three brothers down to his victorious return from Laṅkā to Ayodhyā after destruction of Rāvana and Kumbhakarna—and performance of his mother's Śrāddha sacrifice at Ayodhyā in a very gorgeous and befitting manner. We have seen, however, that the *Rām.* story in group 1 began from Rāma's victory at Laṅkā and extended up to his Aśvamedha sacrifice or (according to the Bengal mss.) up to the end of his life³². Thus it is obvious that the *Rām.* story in group 1 is self-contained, complete and needs no further addition. So the *Rām.* story of group 2 is merely a repetition of that of group 1. This also proves the superfluousness and spuriousness of this part. Moreover, the author or compiler of this part has not succeeded in creating a proper occasion for introducing this *Rām.* story.

The fixing of the date of this portion is much easier. We have shown its spuriousness and its total absence in the mss. of Bengal. This tends to show a much later date. It is also observable that it betrays knowledge of the *Kūrma-p.* It says that one who listens to the identity of the two gods as delineated in the *Kūrma-p.* is purged of all sins³³. It has further been said that only a hearing of the *Kūrma-p.* rescues even those who kill the brahmins or are addicted to drinking or unite themselves with the wives of their preceptors³⁴. This proves that the compiler of this part knew that *Kūrma-p.* not only by its name but was also roughly conversant with its subject-matter. According to scholars the date of this Purāna falls between 550—800 A.D.³⁵ Thus allowing 150/200 years' time for its coming to limelight, this part can be dated c. 950-1000 A.D.

³² The account of Rāma's passing to heaven is not found in any of the printed editions of the *Pāṇḍya-khaṇḍa* of the *Padma-p.* but it is preserved in the Bengal mss. of the *Pāṇḍya-khaṇḍa* which give it in their first twenty-eight chapters.

³³ *kaumoditam yat puruṣam tad devayon-ādī śāśvadam'*

(ṛṣṇaḥ yā-tat prathamam tasya pāpam śucalyau' /

Pāṇḍya-khaṇḍa 110-483.

³⁴ *brahṁ mahā mā'yapah stena-tācharya guru-t'pagaḥ'*

kaumam puruṣam brahṁva mūṣaḥ pātaka-tataḥ' /

Ibid. 102-42

³⁵ *Purāṇa Records* pp. 65, 71

We should now focus our attention on the provenance of this part.

In this part, a vivid description of the beautiful physique of the ladies of Videha has been given in connection with the gorgeous marriage ceremony of Rāma and his brothers. From their custom of putting on the clothes, it can be suggested that the author, although going to describe the womenfolk of Videha (modern North Bihar) is delineating unconsciously the mode of wearing apparel by the womenfolk of his own country, i.e., Western India, Mahārāṣṭra or Rājasthāna in particular. It is necessary to quote the requisite text to understand its full implication

“... daksinānguṣṭha-sparśi-kacchāgrā uparikacchaṃ
niviṃ kṛtvā kara-dvaya-yutā vastra-pradeśa-kaṇṭham-
aprāvṛtyāparavasana-paribhāgā vṛtta-stana-vasanāpara-
bhāge vāmāṃsa eva dakṣina-pārsvāgatena daśābhāgena
nābhuprāntena praveśinopasobhita-gātra-vaṣṭayo yosito
vivāha-mangala-karma-karanāyānekaśa āgacchan³⁶” and

“mṛdu-dhavala-jaghana-parivṛta-vastra-
paribhāgena smṛdha-vartula-paraspara-saṃghaṭsa-pṛyo-
dhara-madhya-pradeśopasobhita-vāmāṃsa-kaṇṭhopaso-
bhita-vanitām³⁷”

“The lower end of the tufted part of their cloth (hanging from their waist to their feet) touched their right toe, one corner of the cloth being within the upper end of that part. There was another short length of cloth covering their upper body. A portion of the upper end of the tuft which was about a tenth of the entire fabric, was unloosened and made to come round the right side across the back and the left shoulder right up to the navel where it was put into the hem of the cloth forming the belt about the waist, keeping the neck open. Many well-dressed women came to perform the auspicious duties of the marriage ceremony with such dresses on” and

“The upper part of the soft white cloth surrounding the waist, appears charming in between the two pleasing, round-

³⁶ Pt. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000

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shaped, thickly-placed breasts (and) falls on the left shoulder near the neck. Thus the women are beautified.”

These suggest that a portion of the lower belly, the two hands and the neck remained uncovered by the garments which they wore. A picture of the Mahārāstri or Rājasthāni (Mādovari in particular) ladies is drawn before our eyes as soon as we go through the lines. What to speak of the Bihar ladies (it is to be kept in mind that the author was depicting the picture of the women of Mithila—modern North Bihar), the ladies in other parts of India do not put on their clothes in such a fashion. The procession of a good number of ladies in connection with the auspicious marriage ceremony is an additional proof to its provenance in Western India, Mahārāstra or Rājasthāna in particular.

Group 3

This part consists of chaps. 69-99 of the Patāla-khanda. This portion is neither the work of the Rāmaites nor that of the Linga worshippers, but definitely a contribution of the Bhāgavata Vaiṣṇavas who put a stamp of their own sect on it by supplementing it with some new chaps. of their own interest. In the discussion of group 2 we have shown how the Linga worshippers of the Pāśupata sect describe Śiva being praised by Rama. The present group, it appears, is a recast by the Bhāgavata-Vaiṣṇavas who have paid back the Linga worshippers in their own coin. In this group it is seen that Pārvatī and Īśvara were glorifying the Māhātmyas and celebrity of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā—His eternal consort, and Vṛndāvana—their eternal blissful abode. Rādhā has been highly eulogised. She is conceived as the eternal Prakṛti. She pervades the whole universe, phenomenal and real and is the prime cause of creation, existence and destruction. She is self-luminous and illumines the external objects. The eternal unity of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā is the Supreme Truth and this unity must be realised in order to reach the highest goal—the summum bonum of human life. Rādhā is the abode of the highest bliss, and beauty. She is the essence of all fair instincts. She is the concept of love but this love or Prema is high

above the physico-mental level. It is perfect when it reaches beyond the realm of senses. Mādhurya is high above the Śṛṅgāra Rasa, and this Mādhurya Rasa is the alpha and omega of the Rādhā cult. The love of Rādhā for Kṛṣṇa is full-fledged only when it is purged of all sensual attractions, that is why Rādhā has been called the restrainer of all senses. She is the presiding deity of Vāyu, Agni, Nāka, Bhūmi and is the embodiment of nescience and consciousness as such. She is the very existence of Kṛṣṇa and manifests Her śakti in various modes. She is Śivānandā in Śivakunda, Nandini in Dehī-kālata, Rukminī in Dvāravatī, Devakī in Mathurā, Sita in Candrakūta, Vindhya-nivāsini in the Vindhya, Viśālākṣī in Vārāṇasī and Vimalā in Purusottama. But as Vrndavana is the resort of supreme bliss and Rādhā is eternal bliss as such, so it is highly justified that Vrndavana has been regarded as the suitable abode of the supreme being. The celebrity of Vrndavana has also been highly spoken of. It has been regarded as situated above this Brahmāṇḍa. It is much superior to the ever blissful Vaikuntha and other similar regions of the universe. It is the playful abode of Lord Kṛṣṇa and has been worshipped by the devoted Vaiṣṇavas who are absolutely pure in mind. It is an outward expression of the Pūrṇa Brahma as such and an abode of charming Rasa of ever shining bliss. Even Brahma and other gods and the Siddhas pay homage to that Vrndavana. There is in it no anger, no sense of egoism and of difference. It is famous as it has the touch of dust from the feet of Govinda. It is secret among secrets, pleasant, most sacred and ever blissful³⁸.

This group seems to have come from a very late date. We have seen how it depicts a picture of a developed Rādhā cult. Moreover, it abounds in references to Tulasi³⁹. Traces of Tāntricism are also vividly observable⁴⁰. Āgama has been admitted as an authority⁴¹. Tāntric mudrās, nyāsa have

³⁸ It should however, be noted in this connection that the Bengal ms. of the *Pātāla-khaṇḍa* do not contain all these references as they end in chap. 80 of the Anusṅg of the *Pātāla-khaṇḍa*.

³⁹ *Pātāla-khaṇḍa* 72 146 73 38 79 32, 56 58 60 63 66 80 58 94 4-7, 9 10 etc.

⁴⁰ *Ibid* 74 152b 90 1 3 4 8 21 etc.

⁴¹ *Ibid* 84 48a 93 23b 26a 105 40a 45a 109 15b, 110 224b etc.

been referred to more than once⁴² Mandala and Yantra have been regarded as the medium of worship⁴³ All these tend to assign a much later date to this part We have also shown that it has been contributed later than the group 2, the date of which is c 950-1000 A D Some 200 years' time should be given to the group 2 to attain recognition Then obviously this part dates between 1150-1200 A D And this may be accepted if we keep the fact in view that Gopālabhatta (of 1400 A D) in his *Harī-bhakti-ūlāsa* has quoted numerous vss from this part⁴⁴, and the contents of these chaps are given in the *Nāradya-p* I 93 which is also of a very later origin

Thus, to be precise, we can say that the first part of the Pātāla-khanda belonging to the Rāmaites and consisting of chaps 1-68 dates between 750-850 A D The second part, comprising chaps 100-113 (i e, to the end) is the work of the Linga-worshippers and can be dated between 950-1000 A D And the third part from chaps 69-99 which is a contribution of the Bhāgavata-Vaiṣṇavas should be dated between 1150-1200 A D

(5) THE UTTARA-KHANDA

The Uttara-khanda of the *Padma-p* undisputedly occupies the last place in its different recensions The very name *uttara* suggests that it is the concluding part, and in all the five printed editions, the *Padma p* ends with it

The Uttara-khanda in its present form is the most voluminous Khanda of the *Padma-p* and it has dealt with various subjects There are several chaps in this Khanda which are widely divergent in nature from one another For example, it may be stated that it deals with the glorification of several vratas, of different holy places, of various sacred books like the *Bhāgavata*, *Bhagavadgīta* etc, of different incarnations of Viṣṇu, and in the same breath also gives out the story of

⁴² Ibid 72 27 74 39 81 33-34

⁴³ Ibid. 79 1 etc

⁴⁴ *Parāśara Records* pp 306-307

king Dilipa and his wife Sudakṣinā—how they were granted a son. In fact, in the Anss ed we find that this Khanda has 282 chaps¹. The total number of chaps of the *Padma p* according to the Anss ed is 628. Among 48452 vss which constitute the whole of the *Padma p* the Uttara khanda alone contains 16779 vss, i e., it is more than one third of the whole of the *Padma p* in its present form.

But, unfortunately, the importance of the work is not proportionate to its size. There is not even a single chap which contains anything of historical interest. Further, the work entails a dull reading and it is with great patience that one can go through the whole of it.

There are grounds to believe that this Khanda was originally not so voluminous in size. In course of years many independent accounts containing glorifications of different sectarian interests (Mahatmyas) which had fundamentally no connection with this Khanda, began to be incorporated into it and later on these individual accounts came to be regarded as part and parcel of this Khanda. In fact, these accounts constitute a few chaps of the work although quite a large number of them is available elsewhere as independent mss. A perusal of the work enables the reader to identify the superfluous nature of these accounts as these have no bearing on the original theme of the Uttara khanda. The Bhaḡavata mahatmya (chaps 189-194), Gīta mahātmya (chaps 171-188), Magha mahatmya (chaps 219-250) etc clearly show that they bear no connection with the chaps that preceded or succeeded them. The number of such accounts is not mean enough and deserves considerable attention of the scholars. We are aware of about a dozen of such accounts which correspond to certain chaps of the Uttara khanda in toto the subject matter of which closely resembles that in some portions of the same Khanda. The names of the former type of such accounts are given below.

1. Gīta mahatmya²,

¹ The Vaṅg ed has got 253 chaps and the Venkat ed also possesses the same number of chaps.

² () For mss see Śāstrī Cat. vol. 5 no. 4659.

() Berl n Cat. no. 1529.

2. Bhāgavata-māhātmya³;3. Māgha-māhātmya⁴;

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- (iii) Benares Cat, no 80 p 243
 - (iv) Benares List, no 189 p 57
 - (v) Do (during the year 1909-10) no 1907 p 10
 - (vi) Peterson Report, no 53 p 115
 - (vii) Pheh, 5
 - (viii) Bühler Cat 2, 42
 - (ix) N W Cat 1874, 8
 - (x) Rice Cat 84, 86
 - (xi) Mitra Notices, no 2971
 - (xii) Radh, 5
 - (xiii) Burnell Index 183b
 - (xiv) Opp Cat, vol I, 1693, vol II, 4097, 4780
 - ³ (i) Shastri Cat, no G 10909
 - (ii) Benares Cat, nos 23, 14 and 34 pp 238 and 239 respectively
 - (iii) Benares List, no 776 p 183
 - (iv) Bühler Cat, no 56 p 46
 - (v) Peterson Second Report 1884, no 29 p 2
 - (vi) Shastri & Gui Cat, vol IV, no 45 p 38
 - (vii) P U Cat, vol II, nos 2249-50 p 155
 - (viii) Bodleian Cat., no I, II p 147
 - (ix) Kielhorn, Cat of Sans mss existing in the Central Provinces 30
 - (x) Pheh, 4
 - (xi) Radh, 40
 - (xii) N W Cat 446, 472, 482
 - (xiii) Opp Cat 2297, vol II, 5448
 - (xiv) Rice Cat 86
 - (xv) Bhandarkar Report 1884, 35
 - (xvi) I O Cat 1116
 - ⁴ (i) Shastri Cat, nos C 5705 and 2921
 - (ii) J & K Cat., nos 3867, 3653, 3740
 - (iii) Berlin Cat., no 457
 - (iv) Benares List, (during the year 1906), no 1554 p 3
 - (v) E. Hultzsch, Reports on Sanskrit mss. in Southern India no 2, Madras, 1896, no. 1120 p. 38
 - (vi) Ibid., vol I, Madras, 1895, nos 32 and 67 pp 4 and 6 respectively
 - (vii) Rice Cat., no. 814 pp 88-89
 - (viii) Shastri and Gui Cat., no. 46 p 40
 - (ix) Oudh Cat, nos 43-44 p 42
 - (x) P U Cat, nos 2261 2267 p 156
 - (xi) Bodleian Cat p 147
 - (xii) I O Cat 153
 - (xiii) Verzeichnis der Sanskrit Handschriften (der königlichen Bibliothek in Berlin), Berlin 1853 p. 131
 - (xiv) Bühler Cat. 2, 48
 - (xv) Burnell Index 188b, 203b.
 - (xvi) Bhandarkar Report 1880, 17
 - (xvii) Bhandarkar Report 1881-82, 15
 - (xviii) Poona Cat 370, 437
 - (xix) William Taylor, Cat. Raisonnée of Oriental mss. in the Library of the (late) Saint George, vol I, Madras, 1857, 59 157 159, 162, 291

4. Kārttika-māhātmya⁵;
5. Visnu-sahasra-nāma-stotra⁶;
6. Ūrddhva-pundra-māhātmya⁷;
7. Bhīmaikādaśy-upākhyānam⁸;
8. Jālaṃdharopākhyānam⁹;
9. Vasiṣṭha-dīlīpa-samvāda¹⁰;
10. Prameya-ratnāvalī¹¹;

* (i) Shastri Cat, no G 9597.

(ii) J & K. Cat, nos 3750 and 3742

(iii) F Kielhorn, Cat of Sanskrit mss existing in Central Provinces no 14 p 22

(iv) Benares List, no 91 p 27

(v) Bühler Cat, no 12 p 38

(vi) Bhandarkar Report, no 31 p 57

(vii) Shastri & Gui Cat, no 12 pp 9 10 & no 278 p 167

(viii) Oudh Cat, no 42 p 42

(ix) P U Cat, nos 2173-83 pp 150 151

(x) Cat of South Indian mss (especially those of the Whish Collection) belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland p 54

(xi) P P S Shastri, Tanjore Cat, vol XV, no 9597

(xii) Pheh, 4

(xiii) Radh, 39

(xiv) Burnell Index 183b

(xv) Bhandarkar Report 1881-82, 15

(xvi) Poona Cat, vol I 347, vol II, 19 102

(xvii) Opp Cat 1673, 2791, 3603, 6831

* (i) Shastri Cat, nos G 2462 and G 3504

(ii) Berlin Cat, no 454

(iii) Peterson Report, no 53 p 115 (with commentary)

(iv) Bhandarkar Report, no 79 p 61 N B The name of the mss is Viṣṇu vṛddha sahasra-nāma-stotra

(v) Oudh Cat, (for the year 1887), no 5 p 36

(vi) P U Cat, no 2876 p 187 (with a commentary) We have mentioned a few For a detailed list of this mss see Aufrecht Cat Catalogorum p 593

* (i) P P S Shastri, Tanjore Cat, vol XV, no 9589

Mention of a mss of the same name is found in the Cat of Sans mss in private libraries of the North West Provinces, part I, 118, but that is a work of one Gīradhara (?) Gosvāmin See Aufrecht, Op Cat p 118 Aufrecht does not mention any of the mss of the same name

* (i) J & K Cat, no 3955

* (i) Bodleian Cat, p 3456, no 807

¹⁰ (i) Shastri Cat, no G 4839 No mss of this name is found in Cat Catalogorum

¹¹ (i) Shastri Notices of Sanskrit mss, vol I, no 232

(ii) Oudh Cat, XV, 128 There are some vss which occur in the Bengal mss of the Padma-p

11 Padma-purāna sūcikā¹²,

12 Kamalālaya-māhātmya¹³

These accounts which claim to be parts of this Uttara-khanda were independent compositions and had no direct connection with this Khanda, but as time passed by, they came to be regarded as parts of it and acquired the garb of antiquity and authenticity

The view that the Uttara-khanda was not so voluminous in the beginning may be further supported on the evidence of the Bengal mss. We have examined five Bengal mss. of the Uttara-khanda. These are all written in the Bengali script. The contents of these mss. differ in a considerable way from those of the printed text. The mss. of this Khanda are comparatively small in size. It may be stated, for example, that while the printed ed. contains 282 chaps. Aufrecht in his Bodleian Cat. notices a ms. of the Uttara-khanda which has 174 chaps. only. Ms. no. G. 4416 of the Asiatic Society (Calcutta) has 173 chaps. and ms. no. 1624 of the Dacca University has 174 chaps. The two other Bengal mss. of the Uttara-khanda, no. G. 4493 of the Asiatic Society (Calcutta) and no. 1429 (kha) belonging to the Vangiya Sāhitya Parisat, Calcutta, are, however, incomplete and possess only seventeen and sixty-two chaps. respectively. In the former the eighteenth chap. is incomplete. Leaving these two aside, even if we take into consideration the above three mss., it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Uttara-khanda was originally not so much voluminous.

That some portion has been added later is further proved by R. C. Hazra who has examined a ms. of Yatharthamañjarī and in the marginal notes of it has found references to such remarks as undoubtedly prove the superfluity of at least some of the chaps. of the Uttara-khanda¹⁴.

This can be proved by internal evidence also. In some

¹² (i) Descriptive Cat. of Sans. mss. in the Government Oriental Library Madras vol. IV, pt. I no. 2133. No such ms. is found in Cat. Catalogorum.

¹³ (i) P. P. S. Shastri Tanjore Cat., vol. XV, no. 9596.

(ii) Burnell Index 188b.

¹⁴ Puranic Records p. 126.

cases it is the exact repetition of a part of some other Khanda¹⁵. It may be shown in this connection that the story of conflict between Daśaratha and Śani (Uttara-khanda 34) occurs already in the Pātāla-khanda mss. of the Bengal recension¹⁶. The most curious thing is that one single story has been twice dealt with in the same manner in the Uttara-khanda in different places which definitely proves that one of them surely has come later. The reason for introducing a particular story for the second time will be explained in due course; but is this not a pointer strong enough to suggest that at least some portion of the Uttara-khanda has been written later and added to it? We are referring to Jālamdharopākhyāna. This episode of Jālamdhara first appears in chap. 3 and is continued to chap. 19 and again we find it in chaps. 98-106. The first version of this story is the larger one and is significantly absent in the Bengal mss. which possess the shorter version of this story. The argument that one has been added to supplement the other does not hold good as the story in both the places is independent and complete. The self-sufficiency and completeness of the story may be shown by giving in a nutshell the sum and substance of the story.

Jālamdhara was born out of the fire on the forehead of Mahādeva who threw this fire into the sea. At the request of the sea, Brahmā taught him all the śāstras and astras¹⁷ and installed him as a king¹⁸. Jālamdhara married Vṛndā, the daughter of Kālanemi. In order to punish Indra, Jālamdhara, the king of the daityas, with all his force laid siege to his kingdom. Many were the daityas who had to die in this battle; but Śukrācārya, the priest and minister of

¹⁵ Uttara khaṇḍa 243 3 42-Ādi khaṇḍa 30 1-41, Uttara khaṇḍa 243 43 96b-Ādi khaṇḍa 31 1 53 Uttara khaṇḍa 244 67 88a Ādi khaṇḍa 31 54 74, the reading nitya snānena (Ādi khaṇḍa 31 54a) is palpably wrong, Uttara khaṇḍa 245 1-146-Ādi khaṇḍa 31 75 209. Thus the whole of the chaps. 30 and 31 of the Ādi khaṇḍa has been practically and literally followed in the chaps. 243 245 of the Uttara khaṇḍa.

¹⁶ Ms. no. G 1416A, i.e., Pātāla khaṇḍa of the *Padma p.* belonging to the Asiatic Society (Calcutta), chap. 11, fol. 22.

¹⁷ Uttara khaṇḍa 93 28a sarva śāstrāstra pāragah.

¹⁸ Ibid. 93 29a ity-uktvā śukram-āhūya rājye tam cābhyasecayat.

Jālamdhara, revived them by his power named *mṛta-saṃ-jīvanī* (restoring life to the dead persons). Brhaspati, the minister of the gods, also revived some of the dead soldiers of the heaven by drugs brought from the Drona mountain but as Jālamdhara took that mountain up and hurled it down to the deep depth of the sea,¹⁹ Brhaspati could not now revive all of them and finally the gods were defeated. Jālamdhara occupied the throne of the heaven. Being entreated by the defeated gods Visnu himself fought with Jālamdhara, but in vain. Visnu, however, was pleased at heart at his prowess and on his request agreed to live with Lakṣmī in his domain. Now being ill-advised by Nārada, the demon king cast his lustful eye on Pārvatī, the female consort of Śiva, and thereby caused displeasure of the latter who, in order to punish him, waged war with him. All the gods contributed the best of their energy and thence was created the Sudarśana Cakra which was used by Śiva in this battle. In the meantime the demon king by his *māyā* assumed the shape of Śaṃkara and wanted to hoodwink Pārvatī but failed; as a counter device Visnu assuming the form of Jālamdhara easily deceived Vṛndā, the wife of Jālamdhara. However, after a hard and long battle with Śiva and all His Pramathas, Jālamdhara was killed at last by Śaṃkara with the Sudarśana. The energy of Jālamdhara was merged into Śaṃkara²⁰.

It is a completely independent episode. Here we have outlined the summary of the shorter version, but it should be remembered that the theme in both the versions is the same. Let us try to show very briefly the salient features of the two as they have been presented.

There are differences between the two as regards the origin and birth of Kīrtimukha. In the longer version it

¹⁹ *ny-uktāḥ sa tu daitjendro nītvā droṇācalaṃ tadā/
prākṣipat ālgare tūṛṇaṃ punar āyān-mahābhavam /*
Ibid. 99 23

²⁰ *tejāś-ca nīrgataṃ dehāt tad rudre layam āgamat//*
Ibid 106 13b

also

dehāt dehoḍḍibhavam tejāś-tad gaurīśe layam gatam/

Ibid (Vahg ed) 104 14a. It does not occur in Arms ed

has been said that he was born from the matted locks of Maheśvara²¹ whereas in the shorter one it has been said that he had his origin from the middle point between the eye-brows of Maheśvara²². From the longer version we know that Kīrtimukha from his very birth continued to be very hungry. Śaṅkara asked him to devour the corpse in the battle field, but as there was no battle anywhere, he was about to swallow Brahmā when he was prevented by Śiva from doing so. Being pained with acute hunger, Kīrtimukha began to eat his own limbs but Śiva prevented him this time also²³.

But in the shorter version the story is slightly different. As soon as Kīrtimukha was born, he began to eat Rāhu, the messenger of Jālandhara. Rāhu cried for help and Mahādeva ordered Kīrtimukha to release Rāhu and asked him to eat his own body²⁴.

²¹ atheśvara jaṭā jūṣād āvir āsīd gano mahān/ /
tri ānana-tri-caranaḥ tri pucchaḥ sapta-hastavān/
sa ca kīrtimukho nāma piṅgalo jaṭilo mahān/ /

Uttara khaṇḍa 11 36b-37

²² vadaty-evam tadā rāhuḥ bhrū madhyāc-chūla pāṇinaḥ/
abhavat puruṣo raudras tivrāṣaṇi-samasvanaḥ/ /
amphāsyah pracalaj jihvah sajjāla nayano mahān/
ūrdhva-keśah śukla (v l śuśka)-tanur nṛsiṃha iva cāparaḥ/ /

Ibid 101 21-22

That his name is Kīrtimukha is proved by the following vs —

śvara uvāca
tvam kīrtimukha-saṃjñō hi bhava

Ibid 101 33a

²³ praṇipatyā śivaṃ devam-atyartham kru(v l kṣu)dhitaḥ prabho/
tadoktaḥ śaṅkareṇāssau bhakṣaya tvam raṇe hatān/ /
kṣaṇam vicārya sa gaṇaḥ kvāpy adṛṣtvā raṇam tadā/
brahmānam bhakṣitum prāptaḥ śaṅkareṇa nivāritaḥ/ /
tataḥ kīrtimukhenātha svāṅgam sarvaṃ ca bhakṣitam/
bubhukṣitena cāryantaṃ nṛiddhena ca sarvataḥ/ /

Ibid 11 39-41

²⁴ sa ca rāhur mahā-bāhur-megha-gambhīrayā gurū/
uvāca devadeveśam pāhi mām śaraṇāgataṃ/ /
brāhmaṇam mām mahādeva khādītum samupāgataḥ/
etasmād rakṣa devaśa śaraṇāgata-vatsalaḥ/ /
rakṣa rakṣa mahādeva tvām-aham śaraṇam gataḥ/
mahādeva vacaḥ śrutvā brāhmaṇasya tadā'bravit/ /
dhṛtvā khādītum-ārabdhas-tīvād rudreṇa vāritaḥ/
naivāssau vadhyaśm-en dūto'yaṃ paravān yataḥ/ /
muñceti puruṣaḥ śrutvā rāhuṃ satyaśya so'mbaret/
rāhuṃ tyaktvā sa puruṣo mahādevam vyaḥ jāpat/ /

Moreover, the longer version contains very elaborate descriptions. The shorter one totally omits what we find in the fourth chap. in the longer. Much of the subject-matter of the chaps from the sixth to the eighth is not found in the shorter version. The long description of war between the Devas and the Dānavas in the longer one has been given only in a very few lines in the shorter one. Only the brief substance of a few lines of the eighth chap. where reference to the Drona mountain has been made is found in the shorter form. There are the minor points of distinction where these two versions do not agree, but in spite of that it cannot be denied that the main theme of the two is the same.

We will now focus our attention on determining which of the two is the earlier and why and by whom the later was added. It is rather an intriguing question and a satisfactory explanation seems rather difficult. We, however, propose to offer our own opinion in the following manner.

What is the main theme of the Jālamdhara episode? We think that primarily this episode proclaims the glorifications of Śiva. This is proved by the fact that it is He only who has succeeded in killing Jālamdhara while all other gods including Viṣṇu failed. From this it can be safely presumed that it must have been the contribution of the Śaivas. On a critical analysis it appears, however, that the shorter version of this story which was incorporated later into the Uttara khanda is a production of the Vaiṣnavas. They have made so in order to counteract the Śaiva influence to some extent by denouncing Him or rather by curtailing a good deal of His glorifications. That a creature, produced from Śiva, will be able to overwhelm Brahmā by his prowess was perhaps too much for the non-Śaiva sect. The Vaiṣnavas in particular could not tolerate this pre-eminence of Śiva and hence omitted such parts of the episode. Moreover, they

puruṣa uvāca

kṣudhā māṃ badhate svāman kṣut ksāmaś-cāsmi sarvathā/

kṛp bhakṣyam me mahādeva tad-ājñāpaya māṃ prabho/ /

īśvara uvāca

bhakṣayasvātmanah ś ghrāṃ māṃsāṃ tvam hasta pādayoḥ/ /

Ib d 101 24 30

tried to minimise the glory of Śiva by associating Him with a dirty affair as we see in the shorter version. It is He who orders Kirtimukha to do an inhuman work, i.e., to devour his own body whereas, as it has been pointed before, in the longer version He, like a noble Lord, prevented His man from doing such a criminal and reprehensible act.

We can, therefore, say that the shorter version was in all probability added later by the Vaisnavas. The two versions of the story, however, went side by side and later on when the Uttara khanda was on the verge of assuming its present shape, both the stories found their place in it, as both of them had gained so wide a popularity that it was not possible to drop any of them.

Thus it has been pointed out that the Uttara-khanda in its present form is the outcome of the contributions of different sects at different periods. It is also clear that it cannot be ascribed to any particular period of time. It can be safely remarked that there is not even a single chap which bears the stamp of an early date. On the other hand, impressions of a later period can easily be detected.

We should discuss now the question of the actual date of this work in its present form. One of its passages reads as follows

bhagavatam śrñute yas tu purānam ca pathen narah/
praty aksaram bhavet tasya kapila danajam phalam//²⁵

This shows its acquaintance with the *Bhagavata* p²⁶. Moreover, some chaps beginning from chap 190 of this Khanda describe the glorification of the *Bhagavata* p. Thus it is absolutely certain that this Purana was not only known to the writer of the Uttara khanda but had also obtained so much popularity at that time that it was glorified in the

²⁵ Uttara khanda 63 35

²⁶ There are differences of opinion as regards the exact date of the *Bhagavata* p. Vaidya (J. B. Br. R.A.S. 1925 p. 144 ff.) Bhandarkar (*Pravartanā Śāstra and Minor Religious Systems* p. 49) Pargier (*Recent Indian Historical Tradition* p. 20) Farquhar (*Outline of the Religious Literature of India* p. 237) Winternitz (*History of Indian Literature* vol. I p. 556) place it in c. 900 A.D. Wilson, Macdonell, Colebrooke and Burnouf ascribe 13th century as its date. According to R. C. Hazra the time of composition of the *Bhagavata* p. is the first half of the 13th century A.D. (*Pacific Records* p. 55)

other Purāna. This Khanda was acquainted with the Śaiva characteristics of the *Kūrma-p*. The following lines may be quoted in this connection—

mātsyam kaurmam tathā laingam śaivam skādam
tathaiva ca / /

āgneyam ca sad-etāni tāmasāni nibodha me /²⁷

The *Kūrma-p*. which was originally a Vaiṣṇava work has been recast by the Pāsupatas and it has been held that the date of recasting should be placed towards the beginning of the 8th century A D.²⁸ Thus it is seen that this Khanda cannot be placed earlier than 1000 A D. There are references to Pañcāyatana Pūjā²⁹ (worship of the five deities, i e., Sūrya, Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Viṣṇu and Śakti) of the Smārtas, long stories and glorification in eulogy of the goddess Tulasī, the famous list of the incarnations of Viṣṇu which includes Buddha and Kalki. The writer was acquainted with the famous doctrine of Śamkara, i.e., the doctrine of Māyāvāda as is proved by the following lines:

bauddha-śāstram-asat proktam nagna-nīla-
patādikam /

māyāvādam-asac-chāstram pracchannam bauddham-
ucyate / /

mayaiva kathitam devi kalau brāhmaṇa-rūpinā/³⁰

Moreover, it has been found that among the many vss. of the *Padma-p*. which have been quoted by different early Nibandha-writers not a single one can be traced in this Khanda. All these go to support such a late date of the work.

It is, we think, not very difficult to ascertain its upper limit. There is a ms. of the Māgha-māhātmya (which is part of the Uttara-khanda although it differs to some extent

²⁷ Uttara khaṇḍa 263 81b-82a

²⁸ *Puranic Records* p 71

²⁹ *śaurās ca śaiva gāṇeśa vaiṣṇavāḥ śakti-pūjakāḥ*

Uttara khaṇḍa 90 63a

³⁰ Uttara khaṇḍa 263 70a 71a But it should be noted that some of the Devanāgarī mss do not possess these vss In Vang and Venkāt editions these vss are found (236 6b-7b & 236 6a 7a respectively) The latter reads 'mahat' in place of 'asat' in the first line and 'kathiyate' in place of 'kathitam' in the last line The Bengal mss also retain these vss, see, e g, ms no G 4393 of the Asiatic Society (Calcutta), chap 43 fol 36a

from the same version of the Uttara-khaṇḍa) which bears such an early date as 1311 śaka or 1389 A.D.³¹ We know that the famous Telugu poet of the fifteenth century Pillalamarri Pīnavīrabhadraih translated the Māgha-māhātmya into the Telugu language³². Surely it took at least 200 years' time for a particular work to attain so much popularity that it should be translated into a local language. The upper limit is thus determined to be the twelfth-thirteenth century. Vācaspatimiśra, Govindānanda, Raghunandana, Gopālabhatta, and Vījñānabhikṣu have quoted vss. from this Khaṇḍa³³. The author of *Prāṇatoṣaṇī-tantra* (c. 18th century A.D.) also quotes a number of vss. from this Khaṇḍa which are all found in the printed ed. of this Khaṇḍa³⁴.

The upper limit cannot be further pushed back. The fact that the summary of this Khaṇḍa as given in the *Nāradya-p.* I. 93 is very much similar to that of the printed texts, also tends to strengthen our view that it was composed somewhere between 1100 and 1200 A.D.

³¹ *Puranic Records* p. 127, fn. 101

³² P. T. Raju, *The Indian Literatures No. VI, Telugu Literature* (Andhra Literature) p. 28

³³ *Puranic Records* pp. 312-313

³⁴ A list of the vss. of *Prāṇatoṣaṇī-tantra* that can be traced in the Uttara khaṇḍa is given below

<i>Prāṇatoṣaṇī</i>	Uttara-khaṇḍa	<i>Prāṇatoṣaṇī</i>	Uttara khaṇḍa
p. 181	253 11 13	p. 358	245 53 54a
p. 181	253 14	for the last line, i.e., 54b	
p. 181	253 40	the tantra reads kṣāṇi-vāso	
p. 182	253 35-38	dināny-aṣṭau divasaṅkena	
p. 182	253 43a	tad bhavet/	
p. 183	253 45-48a	p. 358	245 80
p. 333	241 30 31		
p. 347	245 46-51		
	(Vss. 43 & 50 do not occur in the <i>Prāṇatoṣaṇī</i>)		
p. 347	245 59		

A B Some passages are exact quotations from the Uttara khaṇḍa while in some other passages there is slight difference

CHAPTER III

CONSTITUTION OF THE PADMA-PURĀNA IN THE BENGAL RECENSION

We have already remarked that the present *Padma-p.* has come down to us in two distinct recensions: Devanāgarī (South Indian) and Bengal (North Indian). In the last chap. the different constituent parts of the Devanāgarī recension have been critically examined. In the Bengal mss., however, this Purāna is found to consist of five Khandas arranged in the following order—(1) Sṛṣṭi, (2) Bhūmi, (3) Svarga, (4) Pātāla and (5) Uttara. No ed. of the Bengal recension has been published. So, we think, a critical study of these Khandas as in the Bengal mss. is absolutely necessary for a correct appraisal of the different constituent parts of the *Padma-p.* in its Bengal recension. We propose to take up the Sṛṣṭi-khanda first

(1) THE SṚṢṬI-KHANDA

No important and serious difference between the two recensions of this Khanda is found. The only interesting point to note is that all the Bengal mss. of the Sṛṣṭi-khanda omit the portion of the *Dharma-p.* which has been added as an appendix to the Devanāgarī counterpart of it. The *Dharma-p.* in its entire gamut has already been studied. And let us now pass on to the next Khanda, i.e., Bhūmi-khanda.

(2) BHŪMI-KHANDA

The Bengal recension of the Bhūmi-khanda of the *Padma-*¹ differs in a considerable way from the Devanāgarī

¹ We have examined five mss. of the Bengal text of the Bhūmi-khanda. These are no 4517, B no 4493, C no 4423, D no 706 and E which is not numbered, belonging to the National Library, Calcutta. It contains 133 chaps. in 213 fols. (the number of the fol. is given as 113 through mistake. The mistake begins from 121 where instead of 121 only 21 has been written). The first three belong to the Asiatic Society (Calcutta).

counterpart of it. But this too in its present form cannot be said to contain the earliest version of it. We have tried to show in our discussion about the Devanāgarī recension of the Bhūmi-khaṇḍa that the Bhūmi-khaṇḍa in its earlier form dealt with geography,² especially the terrestrial part of it. But curiously enough this is conspicuous by its absence in the Bengal recension also. In view of this, it will not be unwise to presume that a considerable portion of the Bhūmi-khaṇḍa of the Bengal recension must have been lost. Still it is difficult to deny that the Bengal recension of the Bhūmi-khaṇḍa, even in its present form, is much earlier than its Devanāgarī counterpart as all the Bengal mss. of the Bhūmi-khaṇḍa retain Śeṣa and Vātsyāyana, who, as we will see, form an earlier set of hearer and interlocutor.³

We have made a thorough study of the mss. of the

while the fourth one belongs to the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishat Calcutta. We have mainly followed A and except where there is any special mention the references have been given from A.

We have also studied a fragmentary ms. of the Bhūmi-khaṇḍa in possession of us. It consists only of a few fols. beginning from fol. 4a and ending in fol. 22. Thus it begins with the last part of chap. 2 of the printed ed. (2.13b). Its last portion tallies with 11.39a and for the vs. 39b of the same chap. it reads 'dravyāpaharo pi pitā purvaṃ adyaiva tasya ca' then comes 'psacatvaṃ mayā dattam asyaiva hi puratmanaḥ' (for 41b) and the last words are 'dravyaharanenapi'.

In Marburg (West Germany) Westdeutsche Bibliothek there is also another ms. of the Bengal text of the Bhūmi-khaṇḍa. During our stay there, we have been able to examine it minutely. There is however, no serious difference between this and the other mss. of the same.

* This is corroborated by the evidence of the Bengal mss. of the Bhūmi-khaṇḍa which say —

bhugola varṇanam paścāt bhūmi-khaṇḍam idaṃ smṛtam (fol. 223b of A, fol. 238a of C and fol. 234b of D. It is to be noted that B does not contain these vss.) Last of all comes the description of terrestrial geography and it has been named Bhūmi-khaṇḍa.

* See fol. 238a of C, fol. 234b of D.

We will presently show how Śeṣa and Vātsyāyana constituted the earlier set of interlocutor and hearer of the *Padma p.* Here, the description of bhūmi-saṃsthāna begins from fol. 208a and Vyasa here says that those topics were previously narrated by Śeṣa to Vātsyāyana (munir vātsyāyanaḥ śeṣaṃ pura papraccha etc. fol. 208a). In another place Vātsyāyana says 'O holder of the earth, i.e., Śeṣa, be pleased to tell us how much the area of this earth is, how many the heavens are and what the nether regions, i.e., pātālas are (kīyat pramaṇam bhu-khaṇḍaṃ svargāś ca kaṭi bhudhara/

pātālāni ca kālīṇa kṛpayā tad vadasva naḥ// fol. 208)

Moreover, the story relating how Vāsuki and other nāgas requested the sage Vātsyāyana to give a description of the earth as he had himself heard from Śeṣa (who has been identified with Saṃkarṣaṇa of Vyūha doctrine as given in fol. 208) points to the fact that Śeṣa was the original speaker. It is needless to multiply examples.

Bengal recension of the Bhūmi-khaṇḍa of the *Padma-p.* and are of opinion that some of their portions are entirely new and do not in any way correspond to the Devanāgarī recension. It may be said for example that all the printed texts of the Bhūmi-khaṇḍa, i.e., Devanāgarī recension, end with the horse-sacrifice of King Vena, his attainment of heaven, and administration of the world (which was his empire) by his pious son Prthu. But the Bengal mss. do not end in a similar way. There it is said—

tataḥ sthāvara-tīrthāṇi kīrtitāni hy-anekaśaḥ /
bhārgavenātha rāmena nīksatrī-kāraṇaṃ bhuvah /⁴
vāsuker-yajña-samtāne śesa-darśanam-antataḥ /
vātsyāyanena samvādaḥ śesasya parikīrtitaḥ //
bhūgola-varṇanam paścāt bhūmi-khaṇḍam-idaṃ
smṛtam/

‘Afterwards many immovable sacred places have been highly spoken of (and it is also related) how, Paraśurāma, the descendant of Bhṛgu annihilated the race of all Kṣatriya kings (the line Vāsuke etc. being not clear). The talk between Śesa and Vātsyāyana has been set forth, followed by the

* The Paraśurāma episode has been dealt with in C from f 203a 204a. But it has been introduced in a very unnatural manner. The story is much shorter than in A and it is clear that some vs. from it seem to be missing for it begins abruptly unlike what we expect in a well-connected story. It begins with the stealing away of the Homa-dhenu (Homa-dhenu) from the hermitage. The beginning is as follows

viṣṇur-varāha rūpeṇa purā yatra sthito bhavat /
tatra snātvā mahābhīṣas-tv-agnisṭoma phalaṃ labhet //
samudra mada-sammatto nadyānandad athārcanam /
pramathya cāśramāḥ tasmād-dhoma-dhenor-tato balāt //
jahāra vatasam krodantā bahhaṇja [ca] mahādrumān /
ano(sā)gatāya ca rāmāya tadā[casta] pitā svayam //
gām ca vorudatīm dṛtvā kopo rāmam m(s)amāvidat /
f 203a

But other mss. deal with the same episode in quite an elaborate manner

In D it has begun from f 202b and continues up to f 211a. The corresponding lines of D may be quoted

ca yuddha-mada-sammatto nābhya-anandad athārcanam /
julāya (A reads jahāra) vatasam krodantyaḥ bahhaṇja ca
mahādrumān //

āgatāya ca rāmāya tadācasta pitā svayam / etc etc

A comparison between these two groups of vs. reveals how full of mistakes the ms. C is and hence no weight should be given to it as regards the Paraśurāma episode

It appears that 58 vs. are missing from B in its story of Paraśurāma

description of the terrestrial geography. It is named Bhūmī-khanda.⁵

It is interesting to note that the lines

trītiyam sarga-khandam ca pātālam tu caturthakam / /
pañcamam cottaram khandam sarva-pāpa-
pranāśanam /

(chap 125 vss. 48b-49a)

* A. f 223b, C f 238a, D f 234b B does not possess these vss. It may be noted that all the Bengal mss except B end with a running brief summary of the whole of the Bhūmī khanda. B ends with the following vs —

prathamam sṛṣṭi khaṇḍam hi dvitīyam bhūmī khaṇḍakam /
gopradana sahasrasya phalam prapnoti mānavaḥ //

its śrī padma purāṇe bhūmī khaṇḍe padma purāṇam samāptam (f 153a) All the other three mss have another chap more after this and D names its last chap anukrama varṇana while in C the last chap is named purāṇa mahimā varṇana. It is evident that the end of B is rather abrupt and although it promises to state stī āvara tīrtha, i.e., immovable sacred places, no such besfitting description is found. Let us put in details. It omits vss 14b-25a of chap 123 (of the printed ed.) Chap 124 (of the printed ed.) has not been made a separate one in the ms. Vss 14a-26 of chap 124 are not found in it and instead of these vss the following vss are found

kva gato deva-deveśa iti cintya muhur muhuḥ /
etat te sarvam ākhyātāṃ jaṅgamaṃ tīrtham uttamam / /
sthāvaraṃ te pravakṣyāmi śṛṇuṣv-ekamanā nrpa /
vaśiṣṭhasya dilīpasya saṃvāda [ś-cā] bhavat purā / /

But the glorification of the immovable sacred places a mention of which has been made in the conversation between Vaśiṣṭha and Dilīpa, and to which the king is requested to pay a careful attention, is missing in the ms.

It is to be noted that C has an interesting end. Vss from 21b-36b of chap 125 (of the printed ed.) do not occur in this ms. Instead of these the following vss occur

kalau yuge gatāḥ svargam savedāḥ sāṅga-sasvarāḥ /
yaḥ ko'pi sattvam āpannaḥ śrutvā sambhāva tatparaḥ / /
śrotum icchatī dharmātmā saputro bhāryayā saha /
śravaṇe ca mahāśraddhā purvaṃ tasya prajāyate / /
śrāvyamāṇasya tasyāpi mahāvighnaś ca saṃcaret /

f 233b

The ms reads 42a of the same chap of the printed ed dvātrīṃśati-sahasrāṇām (f 233b) instead of dvāvimśati-sahasrāṇām as found in the printed ed.

After 42b of the printed ed the ms has three additional lines which are most natural and these might have been retained from the earlier one. These are as follows

tato (hi) pariśeṣāt tu bhagavān vādarāyaṇaḥ /
ślokanām pañca pañcāśat sahasraṇi dayāparaḥ / /
pūrayāmāsa lokānām hitāya paramārthataḥ / f 233b

It contains the vs 48a of the last chap of the printed ed (see f 234a) but it does not contain references to the other three Khaṇḍas of the Padma p. Then it goes on in some vss (fourteen in number) describing the glorifications of Viṣṇu which have been introduced rather untimely. It prescribes homa to Vighneśa, Śarada, Sureśvarī, Jātavedo, Mahāmāyā, Caṇḍīśa, and Kṣetra nāyikā with tīla and taṇḍula and one dogdhikā gābhī should be contributed as dakṣiṇā.

Bengal recension of the Bhūmi-khaṇḍa of the *Padma-p.* and are of opinion that some of their portions are entirely new and do not in any way correspond to the Devanāgarī recension. It may be said for example that all the printed texts of the Bhūmi-khaṇḍa, i.e., Devanāgarī recension, end with the horse-sacrifice of King Vena, his attainment of heaven, and administration of the world (which was his empire) by his pious son Prthu. But the Bengal mss. do not end in a similar way. There it is said—

tataḥ sthāvara-tīrthāni kīrtitāni hy-anekaśaḥ /
bhārgavenātha rāmena nīksatrī-karanam bhuvah /⁴
vāsuker-yajña-saṃtāne śeṣa-darśanam-antataḥ /
vātsyāyanena samvādaḥ śeṣasya parikīrtitaḥ //
bhūgola-varṇanam paścāt bhūmi-khaṇḍam-idaṃ
smṛtam/

‘Afterwards many immovable sacred places have been highly spoken of (and it is also related) how, Paraśurāma, the descendant of Bhṛgu annihilated the race of all Kṣatriya kings (the line Vāsuke etc. being not clear). The talk between Śeṣa and Vātsyāyana has been set forth, followed by the

⁴ The Paraśurāma episode has been dealt with in C from f 203a-204a. But it has been introduced in a very unnatural manner. The story is much shorter than in A and it is clear that some vs. from it seem to be missing, for it begins abruptly unlike what we expect in a well-connected story. It begins with the stealing away of the Homa-dhenu (Homa-dhenu) from the hermitage. The beginning is as follows

viṣṇu-varāha rupeṇa purā yatra sthito bhavāt /
tatra snātvā mahābhāgas-tv agniṣṭoma phalaṃ labhet //
samudra mada saṃmatto nadyānandad athārcanam /
pramathya cāśramāt tasmād-dīoma-dhenoḥ-tato balī //
jahāra vatasam krodantā bahubhīja [ca] mahādrumān /
śno(śā)gatīya ca rāmāya tadā[ca] pītā svayam //
gām ca torudatīm dṛṣtvā kopo rāmam m(s)amāydat /

f 203a

But other mss. deal with the same episode in quite an elaborate manner. In D it has begun from f 203b and continues up to f 211a. The corresponding lines of D may be quoted

sa yuddha-mada-saṃmatto nābhy-anandad athārcanam /
puṣṭva (A reads jalāra) vatasam krodantya bahubhīja ca
mahādrumān //

śgatīya ca rāmāya tadā[ca] pītā svayam/ etc etc

A comparison between these two groups of vs. reveals how full of mistakes the ms. C is and hence no weight should be given to it as regards this Paraśurāma episode.

It appears that 33 vs. are missing from B in its story of Paraśurāma.

description of the terrestrial geography. It is named Bhūmi-khanda.⁵

It is interesting to note that the lines

trtiyam sarga-khandam ca pātālam tu caturthakam / /
pañcamam cottaram khandam sarva-pāpa-
pranāśanam /

(chap 125 vss. 48b-49a)

⁵ A. f 223b, C f 238a, D f 234b B does not possess these vss. It may be noted that all the Bengal mss except B end with a running brief summary of the whole of the Bhūmi-khanda. B ends with the following vs —

prathamam śṛṣṭi-khaṇḍam hi dvitīyam bhūmi-khaṇḍakam /
gopradāna sahasrasya phalam prapnoti mānavaḥ //

iti śrī padma purāṇe bhūmi-khānde padma purāṇam samāptam (f 153a) All the other three mss have another chap more after this and D names its last chap anukrama varṇana while in C the last chap is named purāṇa mahīma varṇana. It is evident that the end of B is rather abrupt and although it promises to state sthāvara tīrtha, i.e., immovable sacred places no such befitting description is found. Let us put in details. It omits vss 14b-25a of chap 123 (of the printed ed). Chap 124 (of the printed ed) has not been made a separate one in the ms. Vss 14a-26 of chap 124 are not found in it and instead of these vss the following vss are found

kva gato deva-deveśa iti cintya muhur muhuḥ /
etat te sarvam ākhyātāṃ jaṅgamaṃ tīrtham uttamam / /
sthāvaraṃ te pravakṣyāmi śṛṇuḥ-ekamanā nṛpa /
vaśiṣṭhasya dilīpasya saṃvāda [ś cā] bhavat purā //

But the glorification of the immovable sacred places, a mention of which has been made in the conversation between Vaśiṣṭha and Dilīpa, and to which the king is requested to pay a careful attention, is missing in the ms.

It is to be noted that C has an interesting end. Vss from 21b-36b of chap 125 (of the printed ed) do not occur in this ms. Instead of these the following vss occur

kalau yuge gatāḥ svargam savedāḥ sāṅga-sasvarāḥ /
yaḥ ko'pi sattvam āpannaḥ śrutvā sambhāva-tatparaḥ //
śrotum icchatī dharmātmā saputro bhāryayā saha /
śravaṇe ca mahāśraddhā purvam tasya prajāyate //
śrāvyamāṇasya tasyāpi mahāvighnaś ca sarṃcaret /
f 233b

The ms reads 42a of the same chap of the printed ed dvātriṃśati sahasrāṇāṃ (f 233b) instead of dvaviṃśati-sahasrāṇāṃ as found in the printed ed.

After 42b of the printed ed the ms has three additional lines which are most natural and these might have been retained from the earlier one. These are as follows

tato (hi) pariśeṣāt tu bhagavan vadarāyanāḥ /
ślokanāṃ pañca pañcaśat sahasrāṇi dayaparaḥ //
purayāmāsa lokānāṃ hitāya paramārthataḥ / f 233b

It contains the vs 48a of the last chap of the printed ed (see f 234a) but it does not contain references to the other three Khaṇḍas of the *Padma p*. Then it goes on in some vss (fourteen in number) describing the glorifications of Viṣṇu which have been introduced rather untimely. It prescribes homa to Viṅhneśa, Śārada, Surcīvarī, Jātavedo, Mahāmāyā, Caṇḍīśa, and Kṣetra nāyikā with tīla and taṇḍula and one dogdhikā gābhi should be contributed as dakṣiṇā.

are not found in any of the Bengal mss. of the Bhūmi-khanda, proving thereby the ignorance of the Bengalees about the three latter Khandas of the *Padma-p.* They, however, were unanimous in placing the *Srṣṭi-khanda* as the opening one of the *Padma-p.* as it contained the vs. 48a (*prathamam srṣṭi-khandam hi bhūmi-khandam dvitīyakam*) of the same chap. of the printed ed.

The peculiar feature of the Bengal mss. is that they distinguish between two kinds of tīrthas⁶ of which the first they call *jaṅgama tīrtha* while the other is *sthāvara tīrtha*. Father, mother, spiritual preceptor and even the son also have been regarded as tīrthas and highest respect has been attributed to them. They are not immovable beings. They can go and walk hither and thither. So they are termed as *jaṅgama tīrtha*. A father is an abode of sanctity to his children. Thus it is obvious that a particular *jaṅgama tīrtha* is perishable in the ordinary sense of the term. But the *sthāvara tīrtha* is imperishable. These are sacred rivers and mountains, holy places etc. These cannot move from one place to another. Thus by the term *sthāvara tīrtha* the permanent and important sacred places of the earth are meant. Some important and well-known sacred places as contained in the ms. of Bengal are alphabetically arranged and noted below.

The lake of Agastya, Agni-pura, the river Āpagā, the mountain Arbuda, Aśva-tīrtha, Avanti, Ayodhyā, Badarī, Bāhuda, the lake Bhadrakarna, Bhadravatī, Bhartṛsthāna, the abode of Bhīma, Bhogavatī, Brahma-tīrtha, Brahmā-varta, Campā, Campāranya—the abode of Mitra and Varuna, the river Carmanvatī, Dadhīci-tīrtha, Daksina-sindhu, Deva-hrada, Devikā, Dhara, Dharmāranya, Dvārāvatī, Jaurī-śikhara, Girī-kuñja, Godāvarī, Gokarna,⁷ the hermitage

⁶ cf

etad vai sarvam-ākhyātam jaṅgamam tīrtham-uttamam /
sthāvaram tu pravakṣāmi śṛaudhivam pāpa nāśanam //

A. f 192b

D f 201b

⁷ aha gokarnam śāḍhya tripu lokeṣu vidutam /
samudra madhye dharmajña sarva loka-namaskṛtam //

f 203b

of Gotama, Kālāñjara, Kālikā-saṃgama, the rivers Kalpanā and Viśala—which are the dwelling places of Nārāyaṇa Himself who always remains there near at hand and where Brahmā and other gods, the sages, the ascetics, the Ādityas, the Vasus and the Rudras worship Janārdana,⁸ Kāmākhyā (it is interesting to note that it has been regarded as a place associated with glorifications of Rudra. Reference to Śakti-worship is wanting there), Kanakhala, Kāñcī, the hermitage of Kanva, Kanyā-tirtha, Kapāla-mocana, Kapila-tirtha, the river Karatoyā, Kāśīśvara-tirtha, the lake of Kauśika, the river Kauśiki, Kāveri, Kokāmukha, Kosala, Koti-tirtha, Kubjāmaraka, Kumara, Kumbhakarnāśrama, Kundinapura, Kuruksetra, Kuru-tirtha, Lauhitya, Mahākāla, the mountain Mahendra, Mandākinī, Manimatī, Mathurā, Māyā, Medhāvī-tirtha, Muñjavat, Nāga-tirtha, Naimisa-kuñja, Nandini, the river Narmadā, Pañcanada, Pañcavatī, Phalakī, Prabhāsa, Prayaga, Prthūdaka, Puskara, Puspavatī, Rājagrha⁹ where Viṣṇu worshipped Rudra for the latter's favour, Rāma hrada¹⁰, Rāma-tirtha situated on the banks of the river Gomati, Renukā-tirtha, Rsabha, Rsikulya, Rudrakoti, Sapta-sarasvatī-tirtha, the confluence of the river Sarasvatī and the Sea, Śaśa-sthali, the confluence of the river Sindhu and the Sea, Sindhuttama, Sitā-vana, the confluence of the river Śona and the Sea, Soma-tirtha, the mountain Śrī, Śrngaverapura, Sugandhā, Sūrya-pura, Svarga dvāra, Trikūta, the river Vaitarani, Varadāna where Viṣṇu was granted boon by Durvāsas, Varāha-tirtha, the hermitage of Vasistha, Vasudhāra, Vena,

⁸ tato vrajeta dharmajña sthānam nārāyaṇasya tu /
sadā saṃnibhito yatra harir vasati sutaka //
yatra brahmādayo devā ṛṣayaś-ca tapodhanāḥ /
ādityā vasavo rudrā janārdanam-āpāsate //
f 203b

⁹ yatra viṣṇuḥ prasādārtham rudram ārādhayat purā //
f 201b

¹⁰ It is in course of the glorification of the Rāma hrada that the story of nīkṣatri karamam has been dealt with. There Vyāsa is said to have described the heroic achievements of Paraśurāma.

See ms. A f 196b-198a see also fn 4 above

Vimalā, Vinaśana¹¹, Vindhya-tīrtha, Virajā, Viṣṇu-grha, Vitastā in Kashmir.

Let us now focus our attention on determining the date of this Khanda. On scrutiny we find that in the mss. *an attempt has been made not to recognise Buddha* as an incarnation or God-head not to speak of eulogising him. In all the printed editions there is a vs. where Buddha has been deified and highly spoken of.¹² But in all the mss. this vs. is conspicuous by absence. Again on an examination of these mss. we find that there is an all-out effort to wipe out the influence of Jainism also. In chap. 36 of the printed editions we see that a follower of Jina faith¹³ comes to the court of Vena and preaches his own religion denouncing all others which include Vaisnavism also. But in Bengal mss. such denouncement of Kṛṣṇa-worship and adherence to Vaisnavism are also conspicuous by absence. Thus some vss. glorifying Vāsudeva or Kṛṣṇa (they have been taken as one; no difference being made between the two) which are not found in the printed editions, i.e., Devanāgarī recension, find place in the Bengal mss. There are quite a good number of such vss and we mention below a few of them:

vāsudevābhīdhānam hi sarvāśraya-pradāyakam /
evam stotram mahā-punyam vāsudevākhyam-
uttamam //

In chap 36. 14b, the Bengal mss. read 'buddhi-rūpam' instead of 'jina-rūpam'. In the same chap. it is written 'having spoken ill of other religions¹⁴' but according to the Bengal recension the reading is 'having thought of other religions¹⁵'. Thus the trace of blaming other religions (Vaisnavism also is included among the other religions as the speaker was a follower of Jainism) has been wiped out. It is needless to multiply such examples.

¹¹ Here the river Sarasvatī flows being unseen over the surface of Meru. Cf. antarīkṣa meru pṛsthe yatra yāti sarasvatī

¹² hutāya huta bhoktre ca havīrupāya te namaḥ /

buddhayaḥ budha-rūpāya sadā buddhāya te namaḥ //

Bhūmi-khaṇḍa 31.43

¹³ For a description of that follower see chap 36 vs. 4-6

¹⁴ vinindya dharmam sakalam 36 59a

¹⁵ vicintya dharmam sakalam

This tends to prove that the ms was written during a period when there was a flow of different sectarian waves which built and modified the society in Bengal and at the same time there was a tremendous upsurge of the Vedic and Brāhmanic dharma—the followers of which wanted to protect the society from the heretic belief. A detailed discussion is, we believe, necessary in this respect.

The fact cannot be denied that the society of Bengal during the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries was in the firm grip of different sects and sectaries of which mention may be made of Paśupata Śaivism, Jainism and Buddhism. Let us take up the existence and supremacy of these sects and sectaries one by one.

The Mathura Pillar Inscription of Candragupta points out the fact that the lingas of Upamiteśvara and Kapileśvara were erected by Uditācārya, descendant of Kusika¹⁶. Dr D R Bhandarkar writes “Upamita and Kapila being descendants of Kusika must have been experts in Pāśupata yoga¹⁷”. From Yuan Chwang’s travels we come to know that Śaśanka, King of Bengal, was an ardent follower of Śaivism. The learned Chinese traveller relates the abortive attempt of King Śaśanka to have the image of Buddha sitting under the Bodhi tree removed and replaced by one of Śiva¹⁸. Moreover, Śaśanka’s coins as preserved in the library of the British Museum have on one side Śiva nimbate reclining on Bull (Nandi) with hand uplifted holding an uncertain object¹⁹. Thus it is obvious that Śaśanka belonged to the Śaiva sect. Bhaskaravarman, his contemporary king of Kamarupa, was also a staunch supporter of Śaivism. The Nidhanpur copper plate of Bhāskaravarman begins with a salutation to Śiva²⁰. There is another piece of evidence to

¹⁶ kuś kad daśamena āryoditacaryena sva puṇyāpyayana nimittaṃ gurū
paṃ ca kīrty-arthaṃ upamiteśvara kapileśvarau pratiṣṭhāp to(?)au) naitat khyaty-arthaṃ
abhi khyate atha māheśvaranāṃ v jñapti kriyate

Ep Ind, vol XXI pp 8-9

¹⁷ Ep Ind, vol XXI p 7

¹⁸ Thomas Watters *On Yuan Chwang's travels in India* vol II p 116

¹⁹ Allan *Catalogue of the Coins* p 147

²⁰ om praṇamya devaṃ śaś -śekharam priyam
pinākūnaṃ bhasma kaṇaṃ vibhūṣitaṃ /

prove Bhāskaravarman's adherence to Śaivism. In Bānabhaṭṭa's *Harsacarita* there is explicit mention of his loyalty and attachment to Śiva's feet and none other. Thus it is obvious that there was the prevalence of Śaivism in Bengal in 6th and 7th centuries A.D. From the evidence of the Bhagalpur copper-plate of Nārāyanapāla it is hard to avoid the conclusion that this Śaivism of Bengal was of the Pāsupata sect. The following lines from that plate are quoted below in support of our contention—

mahārājādhirāja-śrī-nārāyanapāla-devena svayam-kārita-sahasrāyatanasya tatra pratisthāpitasya bhagavatah śiva-bhattārakasya pāsupata ācārya-parisadaś-ca Yathārham pūjā-bali-caru-satra-nava-karmādy-arthaṃ śayanāsana-glāna-pratyaya-bhaisajya-pariskārādy-arthaṃ . . bhagavantam śiva-bhattārakam-uddiśya śāsanikṛtya pradattah.²¹

It is also known that Mahārāja Vainyagupta is represented as an ardent devotee of Mahādeva (Mahādeva-pādānudhyāta) in Gunaighar grant.²²

Along with this Pāsupata Śaivism, Jainism also rose to a height of prominence. It would not be judicious to deny that from a comparatively early period, Jainism took a stronghold in Bengal. The Paharpur copper-plate grant of the Gupta era 159 (478-479 A.D.) deserves consideration in this connection. According to its editor, K. N. Dikshit, "the grant . . . records that a Brāhmana and his wife deposited 3 dīnāras . . . for the maintenance of worship with sandal, incense, flowers, lamps etc. of the divine arhats at the vihāra of Vata-Gohālī which was presided over by the disciples and the disciples of the disciples of the Nigrantha preceptor Guhanandin, belonging to the Pañca-stūpa section

vibhūṭaye bhūṭmatāṃ dvijanmanāṃ
karoma bhūyaḥ sphuṭa vācam ujvalāṃ //

and

bhogīvara kṛta-parikaram ikṣāṇa jita kāmārūpam avimuktam/
paramēśvarasya rūpaṃ nṛjabbhūṭi vibhūṭitaṃ jayati //

Kamarupa-śāsanāvalī p. 11.

²¹ Ind. Ant., vol. XV p. 304

²² J. H. Q., vol. VI p. 55

(*nikaya*) of Benares²³” Yuan Chwang while travelling through Pundravardhana has remarked that “the followers of the various sects lived pell mell, the Digambara Nigranthas being very numerous²⁴” While the learned traveller was travelling in Samatata, he says that “the various sects lived pell-mell, and the Digambara Nigranthas were very numerous²⁵” There is no doubt that Nigrantha was the earlier name of Jainism and the Jainas were formerly known as Nigranthas²⁶ Thus, we find that in the 6th and 7th centuries along with Paśupata Śaivism, there was a stronghold of Jainism in the society of Bengal also

It is also well-known that the law of Buddha was flourishing in Bengal from a comparatively early period Fa Hien travelled through India at the beginning of the 5th century A D He had seen a number of monasteries and stūpas in Bengal According to Yuan Chwang, Buddhist monasteries belonging both to Hinayana and Mahayāna sects abounded in Bengal From It-sing’s travels also we come to know of the prevalence of Buddhism in Bengal²⁷ Different schools of Hinayāna, Mahāyāna, Sarvāstivāda (including Sammatīya) existed side by side during the 6th and 7th centuries A D In later days during the Pala period Buddhism gained a momentum as the Pālas were staunch Buddhists

From all that has been said above it may appear even to a casual observer that there was a conglomeration of culture of Pāśupata Śaivism, Jainism and Buddhism during the 6th and 7th centuries A D in Bengal Bengal had drifted far indeed from the Vedic tenets due to the influence of these different sects Sections of common people became indifferent to the Vedic rules and injunctions They prided on their religious tenets which were outside the Vedic fold As such

²³ brāhmaṇa nāthasarma etad bharyā rāmi ca
vaṭa gohālyām evāsyam kās ka pañca stūpa
n kāyika n grantha-śramaṇacārya guhanand-śiṣya
praśiṣyādhuṣṭhuta vihāre bhagavatām arhatām

Paharpur copper plate grant of the Gupta year 159 Ep Ind vol XX pp 61 62

²⁴ Thomas Watters *On Yuan Chwang’s travels in India* vol II p 184

²⁵ Thomas Watters *Ibid* p 187

²⁶ *History of Bengal* vol I p 409

²⁷ Takakusu *It-sing* XXX chap 10

chaos and disorder in practice of religion and social customs followed. These chaotic conditions and unedifying practices connected with them resulted in social degeneration and cultural decadence.

At this crucial moment came forward the Purāṇakāras who were mostly Vedic brahmins who accepted the gauntlet thrown by this new trend of thought. They took the Purāṇas as the channels of propagating their own views. They redacted the Purāṇas, changed these to suit their own purpose. There is little doubt in the fact that the influx of Vedic culture in Bengal gained momentum during the 6th and 7th centuries. The Tipperah copper-plate refers to the settlement of Brāhmanas versed in the four Vedas even in the easternmost part of Bengal.²⁸ The Nidhanpur copper-plate of Bhāskaravarman speaks of the settlement of 205 Brāhmanas of different Vedas, viz., Vājasaneyī, Chāndogya, Vāhvreya, Cārakya, Taittiriya in Sylhet.²⁹ This Vedic culture was modified as the Brāhmanical religion was a prominent factor during the reign of the Pālas also. The Munghyr Plate of Devapāla records a grant of land to bhaṭṭa-pravara Vihekarātamiśra who was shining in different Vedic lores.³⁰ The Badal Pillar Inscription speaks of Kedāramiśra as proficient in the meaning and interpretation of the Vedas.³¹ From the Bangadh copper-plate of Mahipāla I, we know that a piece of land was given to Kṛṣṇādityaśarmā, son of Madhusūdana and grandson of Hṛṣīkeśa, belonging to Parāśara-gotra and Śaktri-Vāsiṣṭha-Parāśara-pravara.

²⁸ Ep. Ind., vol. II pp. 24-25, vol. XV pp. 310-311

²⁹ Kāmarūpa-Iṣṭanācat pp. 17-25

³⁰ Śrīmān devapāla-devaḥ . samīdāpayati . . mayā
vedārthavado yajvano bhaṭṭa-viśvarātasya putrāya
vidyāvadita-cetaso bhaṭṭa-śrī-varāharātasya putrāya pada-
vākya pramāṇa vidyā jñāna-gatīya supamanyava-sagotrāya
śīlāyana (i.e., śīvalāyana)-sabrāhmacārīṇo bhaṭṭa pravara-vihekarāta-
mīśraya śāstrakārya pramukhaḥ

Ep. Ind., vol. XVIII p. 306.

³¹ vācāṃ vaibhavam-īgamery-adhigamam nītib parām nīhatām /
vedārthānugamīd-aiśma-mahato varāyā sambandhitām / /
śaktum guṇa-kīrtanery mahatām nīpātām jvotṣo /
yasyām-āpamater-ameya yāśo dharmāvatāro'vadat / /

Camelkhanda p. 75

This Kṛṣṇadītyasarmā has been described as a brahmacārī expert in the Yajur-veda, specialised in the Vajasaneyī branch of it, adept in Mīmāṃsā, Vyākaraṇa and Tarka³² Thus the influx and fusion of Vedic and Brāhmanical religions being proved, an all out effort to purge those unwanted heretic elements from those writings stands, as we have seen, significant in the Bengal recension of the Bhūmikhaṇḍa of the *Padma p* These social and religious reformers knew that if they could present a horrible and painful picture of the nether regions (where man has to go for his evil doings), they would perhaps be able to some extent to prevent the people from committing sins Thus the Bengal mss have four additional vss from vs 188 chap 66 of the printed editions There it is said 'Terrible is the wrath and pathos of the serpents The evil doers are tied by rope and bitten Very quick are the birth and death of the insects and others The reptiles have to undergo manifold troubles The beasts and birds acutely suffer from hunger in summer, winter and rains Very frequently, the animals (mṛga) feeling great hunger pain, remain afraid People going there are often tied down and bitten and they have to conquer hunger and thirst etc Fear was created due to the piercing of the nose There is constant friction with water³³ These dreadful pictures of the nether region presented by this text surely had an effect on the chaotic manners and customs then prevalent in society

We have already shown how the society of Bengal was affected by Paśupata Śaivism Jainism and Buddhism

³² śrīmān mah pāla-devaḥ samādīśati
paraśara-sagoṭrāya śakti vaśiṣṭha parāśara-pravarāya
yajur veda-sabrahmacār ne vāja śakhādhyāyine mīmāṃsa
vyākaraṇa tarka vidyā v de bhaṭṭaputra hr̥ṣ keśa paṇḍita
bhaṭṭaputra madhusūdana putrāya bhaṭṭaputra kṛṣṇadītya śarmāṇe
Ibid pp 96-97

³³ śvāpadānām ca sarpaṇām krodha duḥkhaṇām ca darunam /
duṣṭānām ghātanam loke paśena ca n bandhanam / /
akasmāt janma maraṇam kṛtadānam muhur-muhur /
varṣā śītātapa r-duḥkham sukāṣṭham mṛga pakṣ ṇam /
kṣuṇṇa-kleśena mahatā samprastā ca sada mṛgaḥ / /
kṣut tṛṣṇādeś ca sahanam bandhanam danda tāḍanam /
nāśābedhana-samprastāśa śatodaka-sadāhatuḥ / /

during the sixth and seventh centuries A D The protest and retaliation of the Vedic and Brahmanic upholders of Dharma also gained momentum during that period It has also been shown how this Bhūmi-khanda of the Bengal recension bears ample evidence of it So, we may venture an opinion that the Bengal recension of the Bhūmi khanda of the *Padma-p* should be dated during that period, i e, sixth and seventh centuries A D

(3) THE SVARGA-KHANDA

The interest of scholars in the Svarga-khanda of the *Padma-p* was first created by Vihari Lal Sarkar, who in his *Śakuntalā rahasya*, a little book written in Bengali in 1896, tried to prove that the Śakuntala episode of this Khanda was the source of Kalidasa's famous drama *Abhijñana-sakuntala* A few years later Prof M Winternitz expressed his inclination for the same view in his *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*, vol I p 454 and vol III p 215, but said in a note

"It will not be possible to decide the question of the source of the Śakuntala drama finally, as long as we do not possess a reliable text of the *Padma-purana*, and as long as it is not possible to make a thorough comparison of the two texts, in which one would have to consider also the question whether the author of the Purāna may not have made use of Kālidāsa's drama" (Eng Tr)

In accordance with Prof Winternitz's suggestions, Prof Haradatta Sarma began, in 1923, his critical study of the stories of Śakuntalā and Rāma Daśarathī as occurring respectively in Kalidāsa's *Abhijñana sakuntala* and *Raghu vamsa* on the one hand and the Svarga-khanda and Pātālakhanda of the *Padma p* on the other, and in 1925 brought out his booklet entitled '*Padma purana and Kalidasa*' in which he tried to establish by a critical comparison of the texts that Kālidasa utilized the *Padma p* as his source As this

view, though differing from that of H. H. Wilson,¹ has attained wide circulation and given to the Svarga-khanda a garb of considerable antiquity, we shall examine this Khanda below and try to determine its position in the history of Purāṇic literature.

Though remaining unrecognized in the Devanāgarī recension of the *Padma-p.* the Svarga-khanda² of the Bengal

¹ Wilson, *Essays—Analytical, Critical and Philological*, vol III p 40 “the first five chapters of the work (i.e., Svarga-khanda) are appropriated to the narrative of Śakuntala and Dushyanta in which the drama of Kālidāsa is evidently the authority that has been followed” In his *History of Sanskrit Literature* p 140, S. K. De also says “The *Padma purāṇa* version is perhaps a recast of Kālidāsa’s story, and there is no reason to think that Kālidāsa derived his material from the Purāṇa or from some earlier version of it”

It is to be noted that these opinions of Wilson and De are mere suggestions without any evidence adduced in their support

² Our present analysis of this Khanda is chiefly based on the Dacca University ms no 1625 This ms is complete in 86 folios and is written in Bengali script on mill-made paper dated 1810 A D It was procured from Suri in the district of Birbhum, and it consists of 40 chaps

There are also other mss of this Khanda, viz.,

(i) Asiatic Society (Calcutta) mss nos 4416 and 4416A, for description of which see Shastri Cat, vol V pp 198 (no 3462) and 202 (no 3470) These two mss, which look fresh and are complete, are written on country made paper in Bengali characters of the nineteenth century

(ii) Bodleian Library (Oxford) ms Cod no 114, for description of which see Theodor Aufrecht, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Sanscriticorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae* p 13, no 52

(iii) National Library (Calcutta) ms, which is not numbered

(iv) Vāṅgīya Sāhitya Parisat (Calcutta) ms no 757 See Chintaharan Chakravarti, *Descriptive Cat. of the Sanskrit Mss in the Vāṅgīya Sāhitya Parisat*, Calcutta p 74

(v) Westdeutsche Bibliothek (Marburg West Germany) ms 3174 no 87 See Walter Schubring and Klaus L. Janert, *Indische Handschriften*, Teil I p 39

(vi) Two mss in possession of us

Of these two mss, the former is much damaged and has lost its first two folios containing vss 1-45 of chap I, and the latter, which is complete in 105 folios ends with the lines

yatnena likhitam grantham yaś-corayati mānavaḥ /

mātā ca sūkarī tasya pitā tasya ca gardabhaḥ / /

śrīḥ astu lekhaḥ pāṭhaḥ ca /

Following the final colophon, there has been a wrong numbering of its folios from fol 22, which, before correction by a later hand, was numbered 20

It should be mentioned here that all the mss mentioned above are written in Bengali script of the nineteenth century A D and present a text which consists of 40 chaps (one ms. in possession of us, however, consists of 38 chaps.) and agrees to a great extent with that of the Dacca University ms There are, of course, some lines here and there or one or two chaps. in the different mss which are not found in the Dacca University ms For instance, one ms in possession of us, has in fol 38b the following three additional lines

recension is a distinct text of varied interest. It begins with a few introductory vss., in which it is stated that terrestrial geography (bhūgolam, bhūmeh samsthānam) was dealt with in the immediately preceding Khanda (viz., Bhūmi-khanda), that this matter was originally spoken out by Śesa-nāga to the sage Vātsyāyana, and that the interlocution between Śesa and Vātsyāyana was reported by Vyāsa to Sūta's father, from whom Sūta must have heard it. The mention of Śesa-nāga and Vātsyāyana as interlocutors in the Pātāla-khanda as preserved in the Bengal mss as well as in all the printed editions (which represent the Devanāgarī version), Vātsyāyana's reference to the contents of the preceding Khandas in which Śesa is said to have spoken to him on the creation and destruction of the universe, terrestrial and celestial geography, details of luminaries, and other matters, and the fact that in the present texts of the Srsti and the Bhūmi-khanda (as found in the Devanāgarī mss. and the printed editions) there is no mention of Śesa-nāga and Vātsyāyana, tend to show that the Svarga-khanda of the Bengal recension of the *Padma-p.* preserves an earlier tradition about the interlocutors of the *Padma-p.* that has been eliminated from the present Srsti and Bhūmi-khanda. It can, therefore, be expected that in the Svarga-khanda, which preserves the older sets of interlocutors, there are chaps. from an older form of the work. As a matter of fact, a careful study of the Svarga-khanda shows that there are two main stages through which the text of this Khanda has come down to us. In the first stage it was a non-Vaisnava work belonging probably to the Agnihotrin of the *Yajur-veda* who praised Sūrya and Agni and identified the latter with Rudra. It is remarkable that in chap. 8, which describes the regions (loka) of Bhānumat (i.e., the Sun), Mahendra and Agni, the muttering of Gāyatrī and the

śiloñchavṛttayo ye vai dantolukhalakāś-ca ye /
ye yajñāś-ca munayaḥ śrṇva parpāśmaś-ca ye //
grāme pañcāgni tapaso varāsu sthañḍilśayāḥ /

(See also fol. 74b of this ms. and fols. 73b and 74a of the Asiatic Society ms. no. 4416A for a few more additional lines) But such lines are generally not of any importance for our purpose.

performance of sacrifices have been praised, special attention has been given to the Fire-god, and a story of Rudra's birth as Agni Vaiśvānara has been narrated, but there is no mention of Viṣṇu except in a single line towards the end, in which Rudra has been advised by Brahmā to worship Viṣṇu (*tapasā viṣṇum-ārādhiya viharasva yathā-sukham*). Even in the description of the Sun and the praise of Gāyatrī in this chap., the name Āditya (and not Viṣṇu) occurs, thus showing the original immunity of this Khanda from Vaiṣṇava influence. The absence of Vaiṣṇava influence is also to be found in some of the other chaps. (such as chap. 11); and in chap. 8 there is a story which states that in a previous Kalpa, Brahmā practised severe austerities by muttering the Rudra-sūkta for many thousands of years with the object of having Mahādeva as his son and that the latter fulfilled his wishes in the Vārāha Kalpa. It can be little doubted that this story aims at giving to Mahādeva a position superior to that of Brahmā, the highest deity of the original *Paśu-sūkt* from whom Rudra is said in the *Īkṣvākyas* and the *Viṣṇus* to have been born in the Vārāha Kalpa.

by Smṛti-writers and others from the Sṛṣṭi, Pātāla and Uttara-khaṇḍa. This fact is to be explained by saying that the Svarga-khaṇḍa originally dealt only with terrestrial geography and myths and legends, and did not contain any chap. on Smṛti-matter.

The second stage of the Svarga-khaṇḍa was due to the activities of the Bhāgavata Vaisṇavas, who introduced the story of Bharata and described him as a Mahābhāgavata (i.e., a great devotee of the Bhagavat). According to this story, Bharata, son of Dusyanta and Śakuntalā, ruled his kingdom with great success and performed many sacrifices in honour of various gods. He practised severe austerities for the pleasure of Hari, and at last the latter was pleased to send an attendant, Sunanda by name, to take Bharata to Vaikuṇṭha. As soon as Sunanda reached Bharata there came messengers from Indra, Sūrya, Candra, Kuvera, Śiva, Varuṇa, Yama and others to take Bharata to their own regions. Though repeatedly requested by these messengers to accompany them to their respective places, Bharata sent away all of them except Sunanda, whom he requested to speak on the heavenly regions—their position, extents, inhabitants etc. Consequently, Sunanda spoke, in chaps. 6-14, about the position and dimensions of the planets, the names, position, distance and inhabitants of the different Lokas (viz., Bhūr-loka, Bhuvar-loka etc. as well as Vaikuṇṭha-loka, Śiva-loka, Guhyaka-loka, Gandharva-loka, Vidyādhara-loka, Apsaro-loka, and many others), and so on, and incorporated into his speech, as we have already seen, fragments from an earlier form of the Svarga-khaṇḍa.

Besides the chaps. mentioned above, there are also many others which were added to the Svarga-khaṇḍa during its Vaisnava recast. These are especially the chaps. or sections dealing with Smṛti-matters, which bear unmistakable stamps of late dates. On the other hand, a few chaps. of the earlier Svarga-khaṇḍa must have been eliminated during this recast. This is evidenced by certain references contained in the Svarga-khaṇḍa and in the

Pātāla-khanda For instance, in chap 24 vs. 3 of the Svarga-khanda Śesa says to Vātsyāyana.

yayāter nahusasyāpi caritam kīrtitam tava //

I have described to you the conduct of Yayāti and Nahusa also

In Pātāla-khanda, chap 1 vss 6-7, Vātsyāyana refers to the contents of the Svarga-khanda saying.

tatrāneka-mahāpāpa-harā rama-kathā krtā //
tasya vīrasya rāmasya hayamedha-kathā śrutā /
samksepatō maya tvattah //

There (i e, in the Svarga-khanda) you have narrated the Rāma-story which destroys manifold great sins I have heard from you in brief the story of the horse-sacrifice of that hero, Rāma

But it is specially remarkable that the Svarga-khanda contains no chap or section on any of these topics

We have already referred to the Śakuntalā episode as occurring in Svarga-khanda chaps 1-6 This episode is a part of the story of Bharata, which, as we shall see below, is of a very late origin and was put into the Svarga-khanda at the time of its revision by the Vaisnavas So it is not correct to say that Kālidāsa borrowed this episode from the Svarga-khanda It is the Svarga-khanda which is undoubtedly the borrower It became almost a custom with the Purānic writers to utilize the contents of, or plagiarize extracts or vss from, the writings of great poets of old For instance, the compiler of the *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* has used Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvaśīya* and *Raghu-vamśa*³, the *Śiva-p* has utilized the ideas and language of Kālidāsa's *Kumara-sambhava*⁴ and *Raghu vamśa*⁵, and the *Śiva-p* as preserved in the Bengal mss, has in its Uttara-khanda (chaps 13-18) the story of the birth of Skanda which is clearly based on that of Kālidāsa's *Kumara-sambhava* There are also evidences to show that the authors of many other Purānas borrowed ideas

³ Cf *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* I 133 with *Vikramorvaśīya* Act III, and *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* I 135 26-33 with *Vikramorvaśīya* Act IV

⁴ Cf *Śiva-p*, Jāna-saṃhitā II 7, 10 and 33 ff with *Kumara sambhava* 3 72ff

⁵ Cf *Ibid*, Jāna saṃhitā 18 34-38 with *Raghu-vamśa* 7 5ff

and expressions even from Bhāravi's *Kirātārjuniya*⁶, Māgha's *Śiśupāla-vadha*⁷ and so on. It is not at all probable that powerful writers like Kālidāsa, Bhāravi and Māgha used so many Purānas as their respective sources; on the other hand, it admits of little doubt that these Purānas found the writings of the established poets very helpful to them. The latter possibility gains ground when we see that all these Purānas are works of comparatively late origin and could not have been utilized by the above-mentioned writers. An investigation into the date of the present Svarga-khaṇḍa and the various sources utilized in it, will show that this work also does not form any exception to the general practice of the Purānas and that it derived materials from Kālidāsa's works and not vice versa.

That the Svarga-khaṇḍa in its present form is a very late work, can be proved by various evidences, internal and external. It mentions the *Sāma-veda*⁸, *Atharva-śīras*⁹, *Āraṇyaka-śāstras*¹⁰, *Itihāsa*¹¹ (i.e., *Mbh.*), *Bhāṣya*¹² (i.e., Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*) etc. and seems to refer to the *Manu-smṛti*¹³ and the *Nāṭya-śāstra* of Bharata¹⁴. It knows and names the twelve zodiacal signs (rāśi)¹⁵ which do not appear to have been known in India down to the time of the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*¹⁶. On several occasions it speaks on the new order of Nakṣatras from

⁶ Cf. *Ibid.*, Jāna-saṃhitā 63 21ff with *Kirātārjuniya* 3 6ff

⁷ For instance, the present *Kālikā* has derived many of its ideas and expressions from Kālidāsa's *Kumāra-saṃbhava* and Māgha's *Śiśupāla-vadha*. For full treatment of this subject see Dr. V. Raghavan in *Itolner Commemoration* vol. pp. 191-195. See also Raghavan in *J. O. R.*, Madras, vol. XII, 1938 pp. 332 and 337.

⁸ Svarga-khaṇḍa 29-32 (on fol. 65a), and 30-20 (on fol. 68a)

⁹ *Ibid.* 35-26 (on fol. 79a)

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 27-14 (on fol. 62a)

¹¹⁺¹² *Ibid.* 35-30 (on fol. 79b)

ye cetuhāsaṃ prayatīb śrāvayanti dvijottamān /

ye ca bhāṣya-vidāḥ kecid ye ca vyākaraṇe ratīb //

¹³ Cf. *Ibid.* 1-21 (on fol. 2a) dharmaṃ tanre yathā manuh

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 7-17 (on fol. 17a). The word *nāṭya-śāstra* *vyākaraṇa* may probably mean proficient in the dramatic science

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 14-24-30 (on fol. 37a)

¹⁶ According to P. V. Kane, the date of composition of the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* is to be placed between the first century B.C. and the third century A.D. See Kane, *JDS.*, vol. I pp. XXVIII and 184

Abinī to Revatī¹⁷ an order which was unknown to the
Āgastya-smṛiti and the latest books of the *Mh* but came to
 be accepted as an established fact in all parts of India during
 the time of Varāhamihira, the famous astronomer of the sixth
 century A D By its use of the word *vāra* (meaning week-
 day) in vs. 10 of chap. 7 this Khandā clearly betrays its
 knowledge of the names of week-days, the earliest dated
 mention of one of which was traced by J. F. Fleet in the Eran
 Inscription of 181 A D¹⁸ Tulasi, whose mention in Sanskrit
 literature as a sacred plant connected with Vaiṣṇavism is
 rather late, has been glorified in this Khandā on two occa-
 sions, in one of which this plant has been deified and placed
 in the same rank with prominent goddesses like Śivī, *Durgā*,
Mahīlākṣmī and *Sarasvatī*¹⁹ and in the other it has
 been called a form of Viṣṇu²⁰ Rādhā has been mentioned
 once (in chap. 29 vs. 56 on fol. 65b) and said to have been
 dearer to Kṛṣṇa than his own life The Śālagrāma stone has
 been praised on several occasions²¹ as a medium of Viṣṇu-
 worship and once said to be identical with Viṣṇu himself.
 Further, by its reference to the view that Vāmadeva was born
 to Devahūtī at Kapilā²² this Khandā seems to point to
Bṛhga 2/2 p. III 21-33 in which the story of Viṣṇu's birth to
 Devahūtī at Kapilā has been narrated at length It recognises
 the performance of Tantric rites and ceremonies even by
 brahmins²³, prescribes the Tantric method in Viṣṇu-
 worship²⁴, includes the Tantric *vantra* diagram²⁵ among the

mediums of worship²⁵, introduces Tantric elements (such as bhūta-śuddhi, nyāsa etc.) into the method of Viṣṇu-worship²⁶, and knows the Pāsandi (or Āgamic) Śaivas who are said to have initiated people to Tantric Śaivism, to have transgressed all bounds of the Vedic Dharma, and to have drunk wine²⁷. By its mention of Śiva's curse that His residence (purī) at Benares would be replaced by a new one in the Kali age²⁸, this Khanda seems to betray its knowledge of the destruction of the Śiva-temple of Benares by Muslim invaders. In chap. 16, as we shall see hereinafter, it gives the story of Bhagīratha's birth with certain innovations which we know from the testimony of other works to be undoubtedly of late origin. Thus, the present Svarga-khanda cannot be dated earlier than the fourteenth century A.D., and this late date of this part of *Padma-p.* seems to be supported by the fact that not a single Smṛti-writer, early or late, is found to refer to or draw upon this Khanda although it contains a number of chaps. on Smṛti-topics. The lack of Magian influence in the story of Saṃjñā as contained in chap. 11 (vss. 83ff., on fols. 28a-30a) need not be taken to go against the above date of this Khanda, because this story has been taken verbatim from the *Skanda-p.* (Kāśī-khanda I. 17. 68ff.).

The late date, to which we have assigned the present Svarga-khanda, does not, however, mean that no part of the *Padma-p.* entitled Svarga-khanda existed before that date. We have already said that the present Svarga-khanda has

pujayaṁ madhusudanam /
tantroktena vidhānena .. //

²⁵ Ibid 29 66 (on fol 66a)

śālagrāme maṇau yantra pratimāyām jalā sthale /
go-pṛṣṭhe vā gurau vipre prastānta-arcanaṁ hareḥ //

²⁶ Ibid 29 80ff (on fol 66b)

²⁷ Ibid 33 24 25 (on fol 76b)

tac-chrutvā nandī vacanaṁ bhṛgur brahma-kulaṁ prati /
śaśipa roṣa tāmṛākṣaḥ śaivān prati mahātapāḥ //
śiva-dīkṣāṁ prakurvanto bhavantu chādma-velinaḥ /
pāṣaṇḍinaḥ sarva-dharma parityaktāḥ surābhujāḥ //

²⁸ Ibid 23 91 92 (on fol 56a)

kalau naiva purī sthātā cāntardhīnaṁ gamiṣyau /
antarhite pure tasmin punar-anyad bhaviṣyati //
evaṁ vārāṇasīṁ śaṣṭvā nivelaṁ punar āgataḥ /
cakāra mandare vīsaṁ devo devyā sahomayā //

passed through two main stages, that some extracts and vss. and the interlocation between Śesa-nāga and Vātsyāyana have been retained in the present Svarga-khaṇḍa from the earlier form of this work, and that its second stage was due to the activities of the Bhāgavata-Vaiṣnavas, who subjected this Khaṇḍa to a destructive recast resulting in its present form and character. We have also mentioned that in both the recensions of the *Padma-p.* the Pātāla-khaṇḍa begins with an interlocation between Śesa and Vātsyāyana and refers to the interlocutors and contents of the preceding Khaṇḍas including the Svarga-khaṇḍa. Now, the present Pātāla-khaṇḍa has been repeatedly drawn upon by Gopālabhaṭṭa in his *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*²⁹. So, there can be no doubt that a Svarga-khaṇḍa existed much earlier than the fourteenth century A.D. (after which, as we have stated above, this Khaṇḍa passed through its second stage).

A careful examination of the Svarga-khaṇḍa shows that it is more a compilation than an original work. It has derived a large number of chaps. and isolated vss. from the *Mbh*³⁰, *Rām.*³¹, *Manu-smṛti*³², *Skanda-p* (Kāśī-khaṇḍa)³³ etc.

²⁹ R. C. Hazra, *Purāṇic Records* pp 306-307

³⁰ For instance, compare

Mbh	i 72 18b & 73 1 12a, 13 17a, 17b-21a, 22b, 23	} with Svarga khaṇḍa chap	1
"	i 73 24 34		
"	i 74 21 24, 25a 58a, 60a, 67 71, 73 78, 80 81	} "	2
"	i 74 82 97, 101a b, 102 103, 106-108		
"	i 74 118b-121, 124, 125-128, 129 131	} "	3
"	iii 200-201		
"	iii 130ff	} "	4
"	vii 55		
"	xiv 4-5	} "	6
"	xii 63		
"		"	17
"		"	18
"		"	19 22
"		"	28

³¹ Compare, for instance

Rām (Vaṅg ed)	vii 9	} with Svarga khaṇḍa chap	10
"	vii 10 6ff		
"	vii 11ff		
"		"	10
"		"	11

³² Compare, for instance,
Manu-smṛti, 7 20

with Svarga khaṇḍa 36 15 (on fol 80a)

³³ Compare, for instance,
Skanda-p Kāśī khaṇḍa

i 8 15ff	} with Svarga khaṇḍa chap	7
i 12 16bff		
	"	9

The story of Śakuntalā, as given in Svarga-khanda, chaps. 1-6, is nothing but a reproduction of the *Mbh.* story modified with the ideas and language of Kālidāsa's famous drama *Abhijñāna-Śakuntala*. As this story has maximum agreement with the language and details of the Śakuntalā story of the *Mbh.*, we cannot agree with M. Winternitz, H. H. Wilson and others when they say that this story, as occurring in the Svarga-khanda, follows more, or is a recast of, that given in Kālidāsa's drama. As regards the description of the Guhyakaloka and the stories of Pingākṣa (a brahmin), Samjñā (wife of Sūrya), Dhruva (son of king Uttānapāda) and Divodāsa (king of Kāśī) of the Svarga-khanda it is evident that they are more or less reproductions of those given in the Kāśī-khanda of the *Skanda-p* the peculiarity being that the compiler of the Svarga-khanda has tried to efface the Śaiva stamp out of these. For instance, the story of Divodāsa of the Kāśī-khanda (1. 8), which is a very long one in comparison with that of the Svarga-khanda, contains high praise of Kāśī and of Śiva-līṅgas established there by different persons, but in the Svarga-khanda the compiler has effaced the Śaiva stamp to a very great extent and also introduced innovations at places. As these changes are not many and vital, it must be admitted that the author, or rather compiler, of this Khanda has contributed little to its making.

The Svarga-khanda, in its present form, is undoubtedly a work of Bengal. All the mss. of this Khanda available so far are written in Bengali script and have been discovered in Bengal. Among the rivers to be summoned during bath, this Khanda includes the names of the Padmāvatī, Svarnarekhā and Kauśikī²⁴. Of these three rivers the first, generally called Padmā originated in Bengal at a comparatively late period from a channel connecting the waters of the Ganges

1 17/68ff

1 19 12, 23bff,

30b-36, 61bff }

1 43 8-10a, 11ff }

²⁴ Svarga khaṇḍa 29-54 (on fol. 65b)

viṣṇu pādārghya-sambhūtā gaṅgā tripatha gamini /

padmāvatī bhogavati svarṇarekhā ca kauśikī //

with those of the Yamuna and the Brahmaputra and is found mentioned and glorified in the works of Bengal and Kamarupa only,³⁵ the second, better known as Suvarnarekha, is a small river in the western part of the Midnapur district of Bengal, and the third, popularly called Kośi, a tributary formerly to the Karatoyā and later on to the Ganges, once marked the boundary between Bengal and Mithila. The mention of these rivers and their glorification as highly sacred like the Ganga, Yamunā, Godavari and Sarasvatī, show that the Svarga khanda could not be written by any one other than an inhabitant of Bengal. Further, the etymological explanation of the name Bhagiratha and the peculiar story of Bhagiratha's birth, as contained in chap. 16 of the Svarga khanda, are found only in the works of Bengal. This story is as follows:

Dilipa, the illustrious king of the solar race, died sonless. Being eager for a male issue his two widowed wives approached their family priest Vasistha in his hermitage and requested him to see that the line of Sagara might continue. Vasistha plunged into a deep meditation and then assured the queens saying:

The line of Manu will not come to an end, O fine eyed ladies. I foresee that a great son will be born to you, O auspicious ones. So, I shall make the best efforts for your sake³⁶

Vasistha then performed a Putresti sacrifice and prepared a kind of highly powerful food called Caru, which he gave to the queens with the advice that one of them was to take that Caru and the other was to have sexual union with her, be-
having like a male³⁷. The queens did so, and in course of time the elder of them gave birth to a boneless son who was no

³⁵ For various works referring to or giving accounts of the river Padma see Nihar-
ranjan Roy *Vaṅgal Itihās Ad parva* pp. 99-103.

³⁶ Svarga khaṇḍa 16. 10b-11 (on fol. 41a)

vas ṣṭho 'tha śrapayāmāsa mārṣa /

³⁷ *Ib. id.* 16. 12-13 (on fol. 41a b)

caruṃ sarva guṇopetam putreṣṭ v dhina dvija //

uvāca te mahābhāge ekayā prāśyetaṃ caruṃ /

tasyaṃ puruṣa bhāvena ma thunaya pravartatām //

better than a lump of flesh, as is usual in the case of union of females. Being born from the union of only the organs of generation (bhaga) of females, this son was named Bhagīratha³⁸. He began to grow up and learnt all the Vedas in his boyhood; but, having no bones in his body, he had an ugly look and crooked limbs. One day, when going to his teacher's house for Vedic study, Bhagīratha met the sage Astāvakra on the way and bowed down to him. Although Bhagīratha's limbs were deformed and unsteady and his words faltering by nature, the sage rushed into a fury and said:

If thou hast bowed down to me by showing the crookedness (of the body) with the intention of ridiculing me, then thou shalt be reduced to ashes by my words, and not otherwise. If (on the other hand), this crooked figure has been natural to thee, then mayest thou attain a beautiful appearance and become strong immediately³⁹.

As soon as the sage uttered these words, Bhagīratha turned strong, heroic and beautiful like Cupid.

It is to be noted that it is only in Kṛttivāsa's *Rām.*,⁴⁰

³⁸ Ibid. 16 15-16a (on fol. 41b)

jātaḥ kumāraḥ puruṣaḥ tu yad ayaṁ retau vinda /

tenāsthūbho jāto'au māṁsa puruṣa iva divya //

bhagīratheti tan nāma jāto yad bhaga mātrataḥ /

³⁹ Svarga khaṇḍa 16 19b-21 (on fol. 41b)

⁴⁰ See ed. Purna Chandra De, *Ādi khaṇḍa* section 12 (pp. 23-24)

According to this work god Śaṁkara being sent by Brahmā and other gods, came down to Ayodhyā, met the two widowed wives of Dilīpa, blessed them with a son, and instructed them to unite mutually for the purpose. The queens did so, and one of them gave birth to a boneless male child which was no better than a lump of flesh. Being disappointed at the sight of this deformed issue, the queens were going to throw it into the waters of the Sarayū, when Vāsantī stopped them from doing so and advised them to leave it on the road. The queens did accordingly, and the child was endowed with a beautiful figure by the curse of Astāvakra who chanced to come there on his way to the river.

As to the cause of Bhagīratha's name, this work also says:

bhage bhage janma hetu bhagīrath nāma.

See also Dinesh Chandra Sen's ed. (9th ed.) p. 23 (which lacks the line giving the etymological explanation of Bhagīratha's name).

In Kṛttivāsa's *Rām.*, *Ādi khaṇḍa* edited by Dr. Nalin Kanta Bhattacharya, the story of Bhagīratha's birth from the mutual union of his mothers is found to have been given only in mss. Aha (See *Ādi khaṇḍa* pp. 22-23). This story, which differs considerably from that of the Svarga khaṇḍa does not say that Vāsantī performed any Puruṣa sacrifice.

Bhavānanda's *Harivamśa*⁴¹ and some other comparatively late works of Bengal⁴² that we find this story of Bhagīratha's birth, which thus appears to have originated in this province and attained great popularity here at a comparatively late period. The use of the root 'vas' in the sense of sitting in Svarga-khanda 13.35 is notable in this connection.

We have already said that the present form of the Svarga-khanda is due to a revision of this part by the Visnu-worshippers, who were undoubtedly Bhāgavatas as indicated by a number of passages contained in it. For instance, in chap. I vs. 11 (on fol. 1b) and chap. 5 vs. 74 (on fol. 11b) Bharata (alias Sarvadamana) is called a Mahā-bhāgavata for his devotion to Visnu; so also is Dhruva, son

to ensure the birth of a son to the widowed wives of Dilipa, nor does it make any mention of the sage Aṣṭāvakra or of his meeting with Bhagīratha. On the other hand, it is said that Brahmā brought about the sexual union of the widowed queens Candrā and Mālā with the active help of Madana and that Bhagīratha was born with a normal body and not as a boneless lump of flesh. As regards Bhagīratha's name this story also says

bhage bhage sambhog je tāthe upagata
brahmā dev thulen nām bhagīrath

⁴¹ Edited by Satish Chandra Roy and published by the Dacca University in 1339 B S p 59 vs 2437-38

diliper dui strīye jāni sab tattva
dujaner samyoge janmilā bhagīrath

For this vs, mss Ka, Kha and Gha (used in this ed) read

dui strīr bhage bhage karile śṛṅgār
janmila samtati bhagīrath nam tār

For this second vs see also Ganga govinda Sarman's ed (p 99) which was published in 1321 B S

According to Satish Chandra Roy, Bhavānanda's *Harivamśa* was composed in Sylhet or Tipperah sometime between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A D

⁴² Mukundaram Chakravartin's *Kavīkaṅkanacandī* pp 776-777 According to this story given by Mukundaram it was the sage Durvasas who blessed one of the two widowed queens of Dilipa to have a son and advised her to unite sexually with the other wife of Dilipa. This story agrees with that of the Svarga khanda in introducing the sage Aṣṭāvakra and in giving the etymological explanation of Bhagīratha's name (dui bhage janmulen nām bhagīrath). See also Adbhutacharya's *Ram, Ādi kāṇḍa*, of which the story is very similar to that of ms Kha used by Dr N K Bhattashali in his ed of Kṛtīvāsa's *Ram, Ādi kāṇḍa*.

According to Dr Bhattashali Adbhutacharya (alias Nityananda) was born in 1547 A D and lived during the reign of Akbar, the Mughal emperor of Delhi. See Dr Bhattashali's introduction (pp xlvii xlviii) to his ed of the *Ādi kāṇḍa* of Kṛtīvāsa's *Ram*. In the unique ms of the *Vasīṣṭha Ram* (written in Sanskrit), which was procured from the district of Burdhum and is now preserved in the Dacca University mss Library (ms no 249), the story of Bhagīratha's birth from the union of his mothers has been given.

of king Uttānapāda and a great devotee of Visnu, in chap. 12 vs. 83 (on fol. 33a); in chap. 7 vs. 20 (on fol. 14a) Nārada is said to have been respected by the Bhāgavatas in the region of Visnu (. . . . viṣṇu-loke māṇyo bhāgavataih sadā); and in chaps. 12 and 13 the twelve-syllabled Bhāgavata mantra of Vāsudeva, viz., om namo bhagavate vāsudevāya has been referred to in two vss.⁴³ and actually given in one⁴⁴. According to these Vaisnavas, Visnu, also called Vāsudeva on many occasions⁴⁵, is the highest god⁴⁶ and is the same as Nārāyaṇa⁴⁷. He has four hands, looks blue like a full-blown blue lotus, and wears yellow clothes⁴⁸. He effects the creation, preservation and destruction of the universe even by a mere movement of his brow⁴⁹. He is the same as yajña-puruṣa⁵⁰ and is the inner soul of the universe⁵¹ and in his supreme state he is beyond pradhāna-puruṣa and is identical with the supreme brahma (paramam brahma)⁵². It is said that the Vaisnavas do not desire the attainment of any region other than that of Visnu⁵³ and that by selflessly singing the praise of this god one can easily attain final liberation⁵⁴.

Though extolling Visnu as the highest deity the Vaisnava redactors of the Svarga-khanda were not at all antagonistic to Śiva but bore a compromising attitude towards this deity. They were of opinion that by singing the praise of both Hari and Hara one can attain final release or at least the proximity of these two deities⁵⁵. These Vaisnavas, however, subordinated Śiva to Visnu when they said that people having no devotion for Hari but devoutly worshipping Śiva, attained

⁴³ Svarga khanda 12 70 (on fol. 32b) dvādaśākṣara mantrena vāsudevātmakena ca, and 13.2 (on fol. 33a) dvādaśākṣara vidyayā / vāsudevam hṛdā dhyāyan . . . //

⁴⁴ Ibid 12 73 (on fol. 32b)

⁴⁵ See, for instance, Ibid 12 70ff (on fol. 32b)

⁴⁶⁻⁴⁷ Ibid 12 64 (on fol. 32a) and 63 (on fol. 32b)

⁴⁸ Ibid 12 70-71 (on fol. 32b) and 13 55 (on fol. 35a)

⁴⁹ Ibid 12 67 (on fol. 32b)

⁵⁰ Ibid 12 66 (on fol. 32b)

⁵¹ Ibid 12 65 (on fol. 32a)

⁵² Ibid 6.26 (on fol. 12b)

⁵³ Ibid 7 24 (on fol. 14b)

⁵⁴ Ibid 7 22 (on fol. 14a)

the state of Piśācas⁵⁶, that a songster, who fails to attain the highest state of existence by singing songs, becomes an attendant of Rudra and lives happily with him⁵⁷, and that the Bhūtas, Piśācas and other attendants of Rudra who had little merit, became the devotees of Maheśa⁵⁸. This attitude of the Vaisnavas was caused by their intention to influence the Śaivas, as also the Śāktas who have been mentioned on two occasions⁵⁹, with their own faith and practice (including fast on the Ekādaśī tithi, of which much has been said in several places).

As regards the language of the Svarga-khanda it may be said that like many other Purāṇas this Khanda also, being meant for the general public, contains some un-Pāninian forms and usages. For instance, it uses the word 'dagdha' as a noun (for 'dagdhi') in 18.16 (on fol. 48a)—dagdham prāptam puram sarvam yathā-ruci tathā kuru; the word 'jarā' (which is a noun) has been used as an adjective (meaning 'old') in 5.53 (on fol. 11a)—tatra kāci-jarā nārī brāhmaṇī bālam-adbhutam/lālayanti nṛpam vīksya etc. There is irregular Sandhi in 'paśyatetmanah' (=paśyate+ātmanah) in 4.7 (on fol. 8b)—yadā tu mukham-ādarśe vīkṛtam paśyatetmanah; the Bahuvrīhi compound formed of 'vi' and 'manas' is 'vimanā,' a feminine word ending in 'ā' and being declined as 'latā' (see 4.32)—sva-grhāyaiva tām netum vimanām-upacakrame; Lit has been used with a nominative in the first person, e.g., in 10.26—chidrānvesi garbham-etam cakartāham sva-sādhakah; the Kṛdanta word 'usya' has been derived from the root 'vas'⁶⁰ with the Krt affix 'lyap', e.g., 13.35—usya rājāsane ramye pālayasva vasumdhārām; and so on. As most of these forms and usages occur in those vss of the Svarga-khanda which have been derived from, or influenced by, the *Mbh.* they have little value in determining the age of this part of the *Padma-p.*⁶¹

⁵⁶ Ibid 7.5-6 (on fol. 13b)

⁵⁷ Ibid 7.23 (on fol. 14a).

⁵⁸ Ibid 7.7 (on fols. 13b-14a)

⁵⁹ See Ibid 31.9 (on fol. 67b) and 14 (on fol. 68a)

⁶⁰ It is to be noted that this root has been used, as in Bengali, to mean 'to sit'

⁶¹ A fuller treatment of the grammatical peculiarities of the Svarga khanda is

(4) THE PĀTĀLA-KHAṆḌA

For various reasons the Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the Bengal recension deserves careful attention. A few chaps. at its beginning throw a flood of light on some obscure points of the *Rām*. It is needless to state, these are missing in all the five printed editions of the *Padma-p*. We have consulted four mss. of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the *Padma-p*.¹ of the Bengal recension and have noticed that each one of it contains those chaps. which are not found in the Devanāgarī, i.e., printed editions. Before giving a brief summary of these chaps. which have not been printed so far, it should be pointed out that in the Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the Bengal recension there are practically four groups of chaps., of which the first (chaps. 1-28) stands pre-eminent. This group is not found in the printed editions. It deals with the seven nether worlds, the story of Rāvana, the story of burning Tripura (i.e., three cities), the legends of the kings of the solar dynasty. The third group comprising chaps. 97-99 is also not found in the printed editions. This furnishes a genealogical list of the kings who occupied the throne after Rāma. The second and the fourth groups, comprising chaps. 29-96 and 100-112 respectively tally more or less with chaps. 1-68 and 100-113 respectively

to be found in the forthcoming critical ed. of the Svarga-khaṇḍa, edited by us and being printed and published in Germany

¹ Of these four mss. one belongs to the Asiatic Society (no. G 4416A). We should call it A. (For description of this ms., see *Shastri Cat.*, vol. v pp. 202-203). The second is of the Dacca University ms. Library ms. no. 1623

It has been named B

The third one or C lies in the National Library, Calcutta. It has fols. from 1 to 244. In all there are 83 chaps. in it

The ms. of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa which we possess is a fragmentary one. We should call it D. It possesses only forty-six folios, beginning with f. 221a and ending in f. 266a (chaps. 99-112). Evidently the beginning is to be treated as lost. Its end is similar to that of the other Bengal mss. In the colophon of the last chap. we find

iti padma purāṇe pātāla khaṇḍe anukrama-varṇanāṃ nāma
dvādaśādhika-śatatanu-dhyāyaḥ samāptam arāṇam pātāla khaṇḍam
śrī-astu lekhaṇe pāṭhake ca

From this and from the beginning of the last chap.,
i.e., 112 (which is as follows

sūta uvāca

īśvatanukramam vipra khaṇḍasyāsya mahā phalam)

we come to know the arrangement of the subject matter dealt with in the Pātāla-khaṇḍa

of the Anss. ed. This grouping is clearly manifest in the page numbering of one of the mss. which we have consulted. There we find an extra numbering of the pages (beginning from 1) is given after p. 206 where the Rāma-story comes to an end and the Kṛṣṇa-legend begins².

We have already mentioned the importance of group 1 which does not occur in the printed editions. Hence we think it necessary to furnish a brief survey of this group.

It consists of twenty-eight chaps. of which the first chap. speaks of the seven nether worlds (i.e., Pātālas). These are named as Atala, Vitala, Sutala, Talātala, Mahātala, Rasātala and Pātāla. They are situated one below the other at a distance of an ayuta yojana. These seven nether regions are inhabited by the Daityas, Dānavas and Kādraveyas. Houses in these regions are designed and constructed by Maya³. They are known as underground heavens (vilasvargāḥ). In them, there is an absence of old age, decay or fatigue owing to the application of some heavenly tonic (divyausadhiraśāyana). The inhabitants even defy death. They are afraid of the Sudarśana Cakra⁴ alone.

In Atala which is situated just under the earth at a distance of an ayuta yojana lives Maya's son, who is Mahāmaya and who is adept in practising ninety-six kinds of māyā.

¹ The colophon of the 71st chap. which ends in f. 207a is as follows:

iti śrī padma purāṇe pātāla khaṇḍe pāriyāna mātātmye
eka-saptatītam o'dhyāyah. Samāptam cedam rāmāyaṇam
Śrī rāmacandrāya namaḥ Śrī raghunāthāya (namaḥ)

Thus it is obvious that here the Rām story comes to an end. It is interesting to note that although from the next folio pagination is given as 207, 208, 209 etc., the pages following have a separate marking too, i.e., these have been marked with 1, 2, 3 etc.

The next chap. after the Rām story is numbered 1 and not 72 as it should have been. The colophon of the chap. in question may be quoted in this connection. It runs thus:

iti śrī padma purāṇe pātāla khaṇḍe pratham o'dhyāyah
(f. 5 or f. 211)

² A f. 1b

³ vayah kaśoram-evātra vasatām niyatām dvija /
na ca mṛtyu bhayaṁ teṣām vinā cakrāt sudarśanāt //
bhindanti ye ca mār्याdām balonnaddhā mahāsurāḥ /
pravīṣya bhagavac-cakram tān hinasti sudarśanaḥ //
tasmin pravīṣte dharmajñe viṣṇu-cakre sudarśane /
garbhā asura nārīṇām sravanti ca patanti ca //

A f. 1b, C f. 2a b

Some of these m \ddot{a} yās are still extant among some persons. When he is yawning, the harlots (pumścalīs), amorous (kāminīs) and wanton women (svairinīs) who are as beautiful as heavenly nymphs (apsaras) come out of his mouth. These females approach people who, after heavenly enjoyment, attain the vila-svarga by the remnant of their merit.

In Vitala which is situated under Atala sports Hara, known as Bhagavān Hātakesvara with His female consort (Bhavānī), His attendants (bhūta-gana) and friends (pārsadas). Here there is a big river named Hātakī which originated from the energy (retas) of Bhava and Bhavānī. The Fire-god drank of it and then spat out its water raised by Vāyu and from it originated the bright gold named Hātaka⁵.

In Sutala lives Bali who is famous for his charity. He is made to live there by Bhagavān ādi-purusa in the form of Vāmana who serves there as the gate-keeper. Here enters Rāvana with a view to conquering Bali's empire.

The second chap. begins with the story of Rāvana's receipt of boon from the creator and his defeating the gods including Indra. He enters into Sutala with an army for defeating Bali. Leaving his army outside, Rāvana enters the city alone, reaches Bali's palace and meets Nārāyana at the gate. He declares himself as Rāvana, the vanquisher of Kuvera, Yama and others and wants to defeat Bali. Nārāyana refuses to fight with him then and keeps silent after warning him saying—

'I, O Rāvana, being born in the solar dynasty will kill you.'⁶

Rāvana does not pay heed to Nārāyana's words. He enters Bali's house. The moment he enters the third chamber, the grooms (sūta, bāji-raksin and aśva-raksaka) of Bali

⁵ pravṛttā ca sarit tatra hātakī nāma viśṛtā /
bhavayoḥ retasa jātā yaj jalam mātariśvanā //
uddhṛtam jātavedā hi pitvā nṛthivati dvija /
tena jatam hātakakhyam suvarnam dipti-samyutam //
dhārayanti saha śrībhir-dāitya-dānava puṅgavaḥ /

A f 2b

⁶ aurya vamsē'vaturyāham tvām haṁṣyāmi rāvana //

A f 3a

challenge him. He defies them also, and the result is that he is tied hand and foot by these grooms and placed in the stable. Bali is informed. In the meantime Rāvana is feeling the pinches of hunger and thirst. He requests the maid-servants (dasi) of Bali to save his life by giving him water and a morsel of food. These female attendants of Bali come out of curiosity to see a strange animal with ten heads, twenty hands and twenty eyes. They say, 'O ten faced one, you have been a devotee of Śamkara and have worshipped him whole heartedly. Dance in the same manner as you dance before Śamkara, we would give you food and nectar like drink'. Out of greed for food, Ravana, though tied with many chains, dances in the stable like a frog in a pool. The maid servants enjoy the scene merrily with loud laughter and then put ten balls of rice into his ten mouths.

Prahasta, the general of Ravana, hears of his master's plight and comes to fight with an army. Vamana sees the enemy ready for war and says

(uvaca vacanam) yuddham nādhunā vidadhāmy-aham /
yata yūyam paravrttā na moksyatha daśananam //
surya-vamśe daśaratho bhaviṣyati mahīpatiḥ /
tasya haṃ sambhaviṣyami tanayo rāma nāma dhṛk //
nihanīṣyami vah sarvān vanarāṃ saha saṁnyakāṃ /⁸

(i e.,) He said 'I will not now fight with you, you go away, Rāvana (ten faced one) would not be released. In days to come there will be born a king named Daśaratha in the solar dynasty. I will be born as his son named Rama. I with the help of the monkey force will kill all of you'. But Prahasta does not pay heed to Vamana's words, on the other hand he goes to kill the latter with his club. Vamana, however, simply touches Prahasta with the tip of his toe with the consequence that Prahasta falls with all his army at a distance of thousand yojanas and has his limbs broken. He rises up and

⁷ bhaktas tu śamkarasyās tasya pujaṣu tatparaḥ /
yathā nr̥tyas tasyāgre tathā nr̥tya daśanana //
dāsyāmo bhakta p nāms te toyam cāpy-amṛtopamaṃ /
A f 3a C f 3b

⁸ A f 3b-4a

tyaktavidhi, i e, one who has cast the rules of yajña to the winds. However, after Ikṣvāku's death, Vikusī ascends the throne and rules the kingdom.

Chaps from 5 to 10 are not of much importance. Chap 11 delineates Aja's marriage ceremony with Indumatī. Aja with his newly married wife, returns to his capital¹⁰ the gates of which are adorned with flags, bananas, betel nuts and pitchers (full of water and decorated with branches of mango tree). But the sudden demise of Indumatī wrings down the curtain over all the celebrations. It is caused by the touch of Mandara garland of Narada who is going to play his lute before Mahādeva at Gokarna on the southern shore of the sea¹¹. Aja laments bitterly. Vasistha sends his disciple Sutapas to console Aja. Sutapas narrates the story of Harinī, an Apsaras, who being sent by Indra to disturb the austerities of the sage Trnavindu, is cursed by him to be born on earth as Indumatī, to have Aja as husband, and to be relieved of her human body after seeing a garland of heavenly flowers. Vasistha advises Aja through Sutapas to perform sacrifices to be able to attain heaven. Aja does accordingly and later on retires to the forest and gives up his life at the confluence of the Sarayu and the Ganges¹².

Chap 12 deals with some parts of the story of Dasa ratha. It so happens that drought and famine visit his kingdom. When Daśaratha is trying to find out the cause, a daivajña yati comes. On enquiry, Daśaratha learns that this famine and hardship are due to the influence of the planet Śani who is displeased with Daśaratha¹³. Hearing this

¹⁰ puram uttara kośalam

A f 20a

¹¹ atha rodhas pāthodher-dakṣ ne kṛta ketanam /
gokarṇe tu mahādevam-upaviṣayitum munibhiḥ //
nārado vyoma mārgaṇa jagāma //

A f 20a

¹² sarayū-gaṅgayor venyāṁ kālē tyaktvā kalavaram /

A f 22a

¹³ gaṇay tvā sa tam prāha rājānam cintayānv tam //
rohuṇī vṛṣa-rāśisthe tatra saṁcāram cchati /
śanaś-carō grāho rājann-anīvyatī karaḥ svayam //
dvādaśābdam-anīvyatī r-durbh kṣam ca bhaviṣyati /
na tasya prat kīro stu //

A f 22a.

Daśaratha drives his chariot, goes to the Naksatra-mandala, and there aims an arrow at Śanaś cara who is about to seize Rohinī Śanaś cara looks angrily at Daśaratha, with the result that Dasaratha's chariot is thrown away at a distance of a thousand yojanas Jatāyu, son of Garuda, sees this, comes in haste, and supports the chariot on his back Daśaratha enquires of the latter's identity and Jatāyu apprises him of it Jatāyu says that he and his elder brother Sampāti are challenging each other in soaring up Sampāti surpasses Jatāyu and enters the Sūrya mandala but falls down with his wings burnt Jatāyu is still trying to find out where his elder brother falls and finding Daśaratha fall from the sky, Jatāyu takes him to be his brother Thus the two, i.e., Daśaratha and Jatāyu, are befriended Daśaratha again goes to pierce Śanaś cara with the Brahmastra Śanaś cara is pleased with Daśaratha's courage and asks him to choose a boon Dasaratha requests him not to seize Rohinī to which he agrees, ultimately speaks in praises of Śanaś cara and returns to his capital when a daughter named Śāntā is born to him The reference to this point deserves special mention for this will perhaps solve a long-disputed problem of the *Ram* Hence the following relevant lines are quoted from the ms

atha santābhavan-namnā kanyā tasya mṛhātmanah /
tām-asau pradadau sakhye romapādāya bhūbhujе //
anapatyāya dharmajñāh sa tām kanyām akalpayat /
dadau sa rśyaśrngāya tām kanyām sumanoharām //
vibhāndakasya putraya hṛṣṇyām yo'bhyajīyata // ¹⁴

Chaps 13 and 14 deal with Romapāda-Daśaratha-Śāntā-Rśyaśrngā episode This episode has been discussed at length in our Appendix In the concluding part of chap 14, the story of Daśaratha's piercing the son of the blind Sindhu muni has been dealt with

Chap 15 begins with the oppression of the gods by Rāvana They eulogise Hari¹⁵, who appears before them and asks them to incarnate their parts among monkeys and

¹⁴ A f 23b

¹⁵ etasm an-antare v pra paulastiyena divaukasah /
bādbhitāḥ śaraṇam jagmur nārāyaṇam-anāmayam //

bears¹⁶ He agrees to be born as the son of Daśaratha and kill Rāvana Brahmā asks a gandharva named Dundubhi to go to the earth to see that Viśnu as Dāśarathī goes after his marriage (kṛtodvāho) to the forest with his brother and wife

Dundubhi is born as Manthara who becomes Kaikeyī's maid servant Śakra and other gods procreate sons in females of monkeys and bears In the meantime the Putreṣṭi sacrifice of Daśaratha is complete and the queens take the sacrificial Caru, as the result of which four sons are born to them, who are none else but Viśnu in four parts When Rāma is five years of age, he is playing with Lakṣmana in the garden, where he pierces a deer with his flowery bow with which he is accustomed to play A fierce Raksasa takes the form of a deer and wants to kill Rāma Rama understands it and kills him with a flowery arrow The Raksasa dies after assuming its real form Daśaratha is informed of the incident and he comes and sees the Raksasa

All the sacraments (saṃskaras) are performed Rāma and his three brothers master the science of archery (dhanur-veda)

At the outset of chap 16, we find that Mārīca and other night-rangers have been creating disturbances in Viśvamitra's hermitage At the request of some sages Viśvamitra approaches Daśaratha and asks him to send Rāma The king sends Rama with Lakṣmana After reaching the forest, Viśvamitra teaches the Vidyās called Jayā and Vijaya to both Rāma and Lakṣmana On his way to Viśvāmitra's hermitage, Rāma comes to the penance grove of Gautama and revives Ahalya, the wife of Gautama who has cursed his wife and turned her into a slab of stone Rama kills the demoness Tādakā also When he reaches the hermitage of Viśvamitra, the sacrifice is begun, Mārīca and others arrive, but all are killed except Mārīca, who is thrown by Rāma simply with an ordinary arrow far away to the shore of the ocean

Viśvāmitra then asks Rāma and Lakṣmana to go to the

¹⁶ yāta yūyaṃ nūrātāṅkā vāraṇṣy ṛkṣa jātuṣu /
avatārayata kṣ prapṃ svān-amāṣān-avanī talc //

city of Janaka¹⁷. Out of curiosity, Rāma and Lakṣmana go with Viśvāmitra to the sacrificial place of Janaka, who accords a cordial welcome to them. Viśvāmitra tells him who these two are and what their mission is. Janaka mentions how even the kings have failed in stringing the aiśa-dhanuḥ and referring to Rāma's tender age and soft body, advises him not to try therefore¹⁸. Viśvāmitra protests by recounting Rāma's exploits in his hermitage.

Now, Janaka showing the bow proclaims:

ayonijā surūpā ca sītā nāma sūtā mama /
tat-pāni-grahanāyaitad dhanur-aiśam paṇīkṛtam //
ya etad dhanur-ākṛsya vīraḥ sa jyaṁ karisyati /
tasyaiva bhavitā bhāryā sītā nāma sūtā mama // ¹⁹

(My beautiful daughter Sītā is not born of a human mother. I have put this divine bow as a stake for her marriage. The hero who will be able to fit an arrow into this bow will receive the hands of my daughter Sītā.)

Rāma takes up that bow with his left hand only, strings it and not only sets an arrow to it but also draws it to the end of his ear and finally breaks it. Janaka brings Daśaratha and his other sons by messengers and gives away his four daughters in marriage with the four sons of the king of Ayodhyā. After the marriage ceremony, all of them start for Ayodhyā. But there arrives Paraśurāma who encounters Rāma. Ultimately Paraśurāma has his pride humbled at the hands of Rāma who bars his entry into the heaven²⁰. Daśaratha becomes satisfied and returns to the capital with all.

¹⁷ gacchatam nagare vatsau janakasya mahipateḥ /
yajña-kālāt mahāvirau tatra māheśvaram dhanuḥ /
drakṣyathah sumahāghoram autodvāha paṇīkṛtam //
A f 30a

¹⁸ ayaṁ nīlambudā-śyāmo rāmo rājīva locanah /
manuḥ-māṇṁgā-gaṇtanor akalvāḥ vaḥ dībhavyavīri /
vayah prāpya mahābāhgo drakṣyaty-ape dhanuḥ-kāl /
nādhunāpayaśah kartum dhanur-adam hi paśyatu //
A f 30b.

¹⁹ A f 30b.

²⁰ rāma-tam śha bāṇo'yaṁ yojito dhanuḥ tava /
kṛp karoma tad-ācārya na vṛthā yātu vai śarah //

In the beginning of chap. 17, we find that there is an arrangement for Rāma's coronation, Mantharā tries to incite Kaikeyī who is at first glad to hear the news. Ultimately Rāma has to go to the forest. Bharata meets him on the way. Rāma gives his foot-wears to Bharata saying—

grahīsyasi na rājyam ced grhāna mama pādūke /
rājāsane nidhāyaite prajāh pālaya dharmatah /²¹

Bharata returns to Nandigrāma. Rāma enters into a deeper forest. Once Aindri Kāka pecks at Sītā's breast and Laksmāna pierces one eye of the crow by means of an arrow. In the Dandaka forest, Rāma and Laksmāna kill the demon Virādha. While Rāma, Sītā and Laksmāna are living in the Pañcavatī by the Godāvarī, Rāvanāvarajā, i.e., Rāvana's sister Śūrpanakhā, approaches Rāma in a beautiful form desiring to have him as husband. Rāma cleverly sends her to Laksmāna who is stated to be unmarried but the latter refuses her on the ground that she has approached his elder brother first. She again goes to Rāma like a river approaching both the banks (nadīvobhaya-tīragā). Seeing this Sītā laughs at her²². This enrages the Rāksasī who assumes her real form and intends to eat up Maithilī. Her terrific roar attracts Laksmāna who cuts off her nose and ears with his sharp sceptre. She rises up to the sky, saying tistha tistha, goes to Janasthāna and meets Khara and Dūsana who fight with Rāma and Laksmāna but lose their lives. Śūrpanakhā goes to Lankā and reports the matter to Rāvana, who wants to have Mārīca's help in this matter. He starts from Lankā²³, comes to Mārīca but finds that the latter has taken to mendicancy out of fear of Rāma.

bhārgavas tv-āha bhāṇena svarga-dvāraṃ mama prabho /
virodhaya mahābhāga na te stu viśikho vṛthā //
ity ukto bhārgaveṇātha rāmo daśarathātmajaḥ /
mumoca bhāṇaṃ tasyātha svarga-dvāraṃ rurodha ha //

A f 32a

²¹ A f 33a

²² tāṃ dr̥ṣṭvā madanonmattāṃ vṛṣasyantīṃ gata trapam /
sītā jahāsa rāmāya darśayanti śucismitā //

A f 34a

²³ trikūṭaṃ sam-atikramya kula-parvatam-eva ca /
mahodadhiṃ dadarśātha gokarṇam agamat tataḥ //

A f 34b

Rāvana's talk with Mārīca is narrated in chap. 18. Mārīca says that Rāma has thrown him away to Gokarna by a single arrow²⁴. Before Sītā is kidnapped by Rāvana, she has reproached Lakṣmana for not going to help Rāma when he is pursuing Mārīca in the shape of a golden deer. Lakṣmana then curses Sītā in the following way—

śatru-hastam prāpsyasi tvam-acirād-eva mūdhadhīh // ²⁵
(O fool, you will immediately be taken by the enemy.)

The chaps following go on describing the *Rām* story till we come to the last chap. (chap. 28) from which we know that Rāma on the completion of his mission as avatāra (God-head) on his celestial chariot goes to heaven with his wife and three brothers, and a host of rāksasas and vānaras and his subjects.

Thus we see that the contents of the group I which are not found in the Devanāgarī recension primarily deal with the *Rām* story. It is true that there are portions where the *Vālmiki-Rām*. has not been faithfully followed. But that does not bespeak the originality of the contributor. Dr. Bulcke has referred to a number of variants of the *Rām* story at different places at different times.²⁶ Our compiler, it is obvious, has followed one of such versions. Moreover, it appears to us that on many occasions he has followed Kālidāsa's *Raghu-vamśa*. Vss. from the *Raghu-vamśa* have been freely used while in some places the compiler has retained the phraseology of Kālidāsa. The following comparison will show how much he, of this group, is indebted to Kālidāsa's *Raghu-vamśa*.

Pātāla-khaṇḍa

Raghu-vamśa

5. 10a

mahorasko mahāprāno mahāskandho
mahābhujah

= I. 13a

²⁴ viśvāmītrāsramād yo māṃ bāṇenaikena durjayah /
gokarnaṃ prāpayāmāsa pravrajyām viddhi me tataḥ //
A f 37b

²⁵ A f 35b.

²⁶ C. J. Bulcke, *Rāmakathā (Utpatti aur Vikāś)*

Pātāla-khanda

Raghu-vamśa

kanyām magadha-rājasya nāmnā vipra
sudaksinām
upayeme mahāśilām pativrata-parāya-
nām } = I. 31

atha mantrisu vinyasya rājya-bhāram
mahāmatih } = I. 34b

sārdham sva-bhāryayā prāyād vasi-
sthasyāśramam prati } = I. 35

skandhāsakta-samid-garbhair pratyā-
yātair-vanāntarāt
śisyair prapūryamānā ca sāyam sam-
dhyārtubhir-drutam } = I. 49

muni-kanyā-ganair siñcan taru-mūlāni
sarvatah } = I. 51a

f. 10b

esā brahmaṇ-stava-vadhūr-bhāryā
mama sudaksinā
na dhārayati yad garbhaṇ tena duh-
kham mamādya vai } = I. 65

matto'tha durlabhaḥ pindaḥ pūrvesām
param-eva hi } = I. 66

tac-chrutvā vacanam tasya ciram
dadhyau tapodhanah
athāmum bodhayāmāsa samtati-sta-
mbhakāranam } = I. 74

śakrenāpi samāhūto daityānām vadha-
kāranāt } = I. 75a

vilokitah surabhyā tvam kalpatarv-
anghrisamsthayā
tadā devālayam yātas-tvam-akārsih
sura-priyah } = I. 75b

sudaksinām-rtusnātām smrtvā jāta-
tvarādhikah } = I. 76a

f. 11a

śāpas-tu na śruto rājams-tvayā sārathi-
nāpi na
kūjatsu ratha-cakresu nadatsu dig-ibhesu
ca } = I. 78

Pātāla-khanda

Raghu-vaṃśa

anyedyuh sā vasisthasya homa-dhenur-
mahīpateh

vrata-dārḍhyam parīksanti praviveśa

hīmālayam

citrārpita ivāstithac-cāpārpita-karas- tadā

adahyata sva-tejobhīh svayam-eva sa

bhūpatih

kumbhodaro'smi vikhyāto bhavānyāś-ca

priyah sadā

= II. 26

= II. 31b

= II. 32b

= II. 35b

f. 12b

devadāru-vanam devyāh svayam

yatnair-upārjita

stanyena payasā skanda-pīta-śesena

vardhitam

tena putrādhikah sneho bhavānyāsmims-

tarau nrpa

kadācid-asya vanyena tvag-unmathya

vicālitā

katam kandūyamānena mada-mattena

dantīnā

sastrair-api na yac-chakyam-akīrtyai

dhanvinām na tat

= II. 36

= II. 37a

= II. 40b

f. 13a

rājyam-ekātapatram te jagatyām

jagatī-pate

vayo navyam vapuś-cedam devānām-iva

sundaram

mahītalasya rājyam tu varam-aındryāt

padād-api

= II. 47a

= II. 50b

f. 13b

uttistha vatsa siddho'si prasannāsmi

mahīpate

tac-chrutvā vacanam tasyāh pīyūsam-iva

sambhrtam

nivrtte vatsa-pāne ca homārtham ca

tapasvinā

grhīte ca payah-śesam dugdhvā patra-

pute svayam

= II. 61a

= II. 66a &
65b

Pūṣh-khandā

Rāg=ragini

diśah prasādah pravayan cāru-gandha-
vaho'nilah

~ III 14a

f 11a

sa jūto lighayan yasmāt tejāṇi nṛpa-
bhūbhujām

tena nīmna rāghuh proktah prajñāṇi
priva darśanah

nivujya bhūmikāyām bahubhūh rāya
sūnubhūh

ekonām tu śatām cakre vājmedhām
mahāpaub

rāghuh tidaṅga nuyanda jātēna bāhūṇi
vrah

III 21

III 38

~ III 41a

f 11b

prathamā tvām mahābhujām

śatākrut avāṇi śūblo mām-eva

bhājite'nagha

~ III 44a

III 49b

f 13a

phalām kratūnām tu śatvya pūṇām

mahendra te tad bhavatu praśādāt

~ III 13b

f 13b

pūṇām vasmudram āśāya jivāt ca vā
lān nṛpān

nīcākhāna jayantām haṁ undhuma lha
mahābalah

~ IV 37

Pātāla-khanda

Raghu-vaṃśa

idānīm sadrśīm bhāryām labdhvā

gārhaṣṭhyam-ācara

= V. 10b

upaviśya punar-brūhi daksinā kā guros-
tava

= V 18b

(N B In the ms we find that Nārada tells Kuvera all about Raghu's forthcoming expedition against him and advises to give Raghu the required money in order to satisfy him f 17a)

f 17b

rājapatnī tatah kāle susuve'pratimam
sutambrāhṃe muhūrte dharmajñā tena nāmnā
hy-ajo'bhavat

= V. 36

vidarbhādhīpater-dūtah samāgatya
nyavedayatdūto'ham bhojanīmno vai vidarbhādhī-
pater-nṛpapresitas-tena bhūpāla putrānām nayanāya
vai

= V 39

svasī tasyānavadyāngī nāmnā cendu-
matī śubhāsvayamvaraih patim tanvī grahīsyati
manoramamraghus tu tad-upaśrutyā ślāghyam vaivā-
hikam vidhimtṛṇayam presayāmīsa sasanyam-atha
kundinam

= V. 40

[N B The episode of the elephant (i.e., the son of the lord of Gandharvas, who was cursed by the sage Matanga, in consequence of which, his body was transferred into that of an elephant) has been narrated more elaborately in the ms f. 18a]

Pātāla-khanda

Raghu-vamśa

f. 18a

sa viddhamātras-tūjjhitvā nāgarūpam
 śriyā jvalan
 avāpa rūpaṃ gāndharvam muktā-hāra-
 vibhūsitam

= V. 51

suto gandharvādhipateḥ priyadarśana-
 samjñīnah
 mataṃgasya munēḥ śāpād garvād-avama-
 tasya vai

= V. 53

nāgatvam-agamam

f. 18b

sūrya-vamśa-bhavo rājā raghoḥ putro
 mahābalaḥ
 ajo nāma yadā kumbhaṃ bānais-te
 pratibhetsyati
 tadā gandharva-rūpena punaḥ svargam-
 avāpsyasi

= V. 55

(N.B. According to the ms. Priyadarśana
 gave the arrow named Prasvāpana
 (not saṃmohana) to Aja. The whole of
 the contents of the sastha sarga of the
Raghu-vamśa has been described very
 briefly in a few words. f. 19a)

dvipā dvipaīr-asajyanta rathāś-ca rathī-
 bhīḥ saha
 hayārohair-hayārohāḥ pādātāś-ca padāti-
 bhīḥ

= VII. 37

f. 19b

gandharva-dattaṃ bānaṃ taṃ saṃdadhe
 raghu-nandanah
 mantrenāmantrya taṃ bānam prasvāpa-
 nam-amarsanam

= VII. 61

vijahāra vane ramye indumatyā saha
 svayam

= VIII. 32a

Pātāla-khanda

Raghu-vamśa

atha rodhasi pāthodher-daksine krta-keta-
nam

śokārtam tu (vl. gokarne tu) mahā-
devam-upavīnayitum munih

nārado vyoma-mārgena jagāma
brāhmanarsabha

= VIII. 33

f. 21b

yadi prāna-harā ceyam mālā mandāra-
puspajā

na prānān harate kasmād-arpitā mama
vaksasi

= VIII. 46a

(N.B. According to the ms Daśaratha,
hearing the sad news of his mother's
sudden death, approaches his father
and consoles him. He performs his
mother's śrāddha ceremony afterwards.
But such incidents are not found in the
Raghu-vamśa where Aja himself performs
śrāddha of Indumatī on the tenth day.
viu 73)

trnabindoh purā rājan tapatah paramam
tapah

śankitah surarāt cakre tapo-vighnārtham-
udyamam

āhūyāpsarasam nāmnā harinīm
harineksanām

presayāmāsa tapasaś-chidrāya tasya
tapyatah

sa tapa-pratibandhām tām vilokya
puratah sthitām

rusā śasāpa duste tvam mānusi na cīrād
bhava

= VIII. 79

= VIII 80

(N.B. The story of Indumatī's birth and
death as told by the disciple of Vasiṣṭha

is equally dealt with in the ms. and in the *Raghu-vaṃśa*.)

Pātāla-khaṇḍa

Raghu-vaṃśa

tatrāndhasya muneh putro vaiśyasya
toya-kāmkṣinah
pūrayāmāsa salilaṃ kumbhe nādo'bhavat
tadā

dviradasyaiva śuśrāva kare pūrayato
jalam

= IX. 73

ninadantaṃ daśarathas-tato bāṇaṃ
mumoca ha

śabdapātī sa bānas-tu muni-putrasya
vaksasi

rājyaṃ praśāsatas-tasya mahīśasya
mahāmate

= X. 1

varsānām-ayutaṃ prāyāt kiṃcid-ūnaṃ
sutārthinaḥ

vrīdayā parayāviṣṭā yayuh kecit sthitā api
bālāv-imaṃ tad vilokya kathoraṃ kiṃ
kariṣyataḥ

= XI. 20

It is needless to multiply examples.

(5) THE UTTARA-KHAṆḌA

The Bengal recension of the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the *Padma-p.* as presented by the Bengal mss deserves careful attention as the mss. offer some interesting data. The mss are, as usual, widely different from their Devanāgarī counterparts. All the Khaṇḍas of the *Padma-p.* of Bengal recension differ either widely or to some extent from the Devanāgarī recension and the *Uttara-khaṇḍa* stands no exception to this. We have already noticed in our discussion on the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the Devanāgarī recension how the Bengal mss. of this Khaṇḍa are comparatively short in size and do not contain much of the materials of the Devanāgarī recension.

We have examined six Bengal mss.¹ The maximum number of chaps. contained by them is 174² whereas the Anss. ed. of it has 282 chaps.

It is not easy to account for the shortness of the Bengal mss. Two plausible reasons may be suggested. Either the original Uttara-khanda which was in its beginning not so voluminous as the printed or available Uttara-khanda, evolved from the mss. of Bengal, i e., it originated in Bengal and later tracts dealing with so called Māhātmyas were added to it by different people in different parts of India, or it might not have had its origin in Bengal but in other parts of India (it is difficult to state correctly the provenance of the Uttara-khanda) and the Bengal mss. for more reasons than one omitted a great many chaps. from the original and introduced some new chaps. (which are found in those mss. only) in it.

There are grounds to believe that the Bengal recension has not been preserved faithfully in the present-day mss. Even in the Bengal recension, quite a lot of variations are noticed from which it can be safely said that it underwent changes from stage to stage. We are referring to the Kārttika-māhātmya of the mss.³ It should be noted that it is not similar to that found in the printed ed., i e., Devanāgarī recension. In the printed ed. the Kārttika-

¹ mss no G 4416 and 4493 belonging to the Asiatic Society (Calcutta), ms no 1429 (kha) of the Vangriya Sāhitya Sansat, Calcutta, ms no 1624 of the Dacca University, ms no Cod 111 of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and also the ms belonging to the National Library, Calcutta. The ms of the *Padma p* of the National Library, Calcutta consists of two vols—the first vol contains *Sṛṣṭi khaṇḍa*, *Bhūmi khaṇḍa* and *Svarga khaṇḍa* while *Patāla khaṇḍa*, *Uttara khaṇḍa*, *Bhāgavata māhātmya* and *Kriyā yoga-sāra* are contained in the second vol. The Uttara khaṇḍa there contains 306 pages (The page anomaly begins from p 146, where instead of 146, the page number is marked as 116 and the wrong number continues upto the end) There are 173 chaps in it. The colophon of the last chap is as follows

ity ādi padma purāṇe uttara khaṇḍe phala-śrutir-nāma
trisaptaty adhika-śatataṁo'dhyāyaḥ Samāptam idam-
uttara-khaṇḍam padma purāṇam ca itah param kriya-yoga
sāram bhaviṣyati

Here we have referred to the first ms (G 4416 belonging to the Asiatic Society, Calcutta) unless otherwise stated

² See mss of the Bodleian Library and Dacca University

³ See chap 114 ff on f 266b ff

We have noticed earlier that there exists a gulf of difference between the Uttara-khanda of the Devanāgarī recension and the same belonging to the Bengal recension. Most of the chaps in the former are not found in the latter. The difference is shown by the chart given below.

(The ms begins from chap 220 of the Devanāgarī ed.)

ms	printed ed	ms	printed ed
Chaps 1-3	=220-221	Chaps 24-40	=251-261
Then some twenty chaps of the printed ed are not found in the ms		Chaps 41-49	=262-267
Chaps 4-14	=242-249	N B Chaps 41-43 have extra matter which is not found in the Devanāgarī ed	
Chaps 15-23	=250	Chap 49 also contains additional nineteen vss which are conspicuous by their absence in the printed ed	
N B Chap 15 of the ms differs widely from its Devanāgarī counterpart. Its contents are not found in the printed ed		Chaps 50-59	=268-271
Chaps 1-20 do not wholly agree with the Devanāgarī ed		There are about 57 vss in chap 58 which do not occur in the printed ed	
Chaps 60-75	=272-280	Chaps 79-97	=171-189
A few vss of chaps 74 and 75 are seen in the printed ed		N B Here chaps 90, 92 and 96 contain some vss that are not found in the printed ed	
Chaps 76-78	=281-282	Chap 98	=72 (vss 85 ff)
Printed ed does not contain a few vss of chaps 76 and 77 and about sixty vss of chap 78		N B Continuing from the major portion of chap 98 right up to chap 140 (i.e., 42 chaps in all. A brief summary of these will be given later), this part is unique and it does not correspond to any chap of the printed ed	

	ms.	printed ed.	ms.	printed ed.
Chaps.	141-161	=98-118	Chaps. 162-173	(to the end)
				do not occur in the printed ed.

Let us proceed to present a summary of the chaps. 98-140 which do not occur in the Devanāgarī recension. This would enable us to understand the importance, if any, of the Bengal recension.

Chap. 98 deals mainly with the glorification of the Tulasi, Gaṅgā and incidentally describes the efficacy of taking the holy names of Kṛṣṇa. Here Pārvatī wants to know what bondage is and what salvation is, what distinguishes religion from non-religion, what is Vairāgya, Yama, Niyama, Śauca, Aśauca, Titikṣā etc., and Śiva answers accordingly. Moreover, some social customs have been narrated and a description of the universe, the characteristic feature of Smṛti-work and the like, delineation of the Manvantaras and the birth of Brahmā are found therein⁷.

Chap. 99 deals with the characteristics and qualifications of a devoted Vaisnava⁸. Here a full description has been given showing how and where the decoration of sandal-paste should be applied in the different parts of the body⁹.

Chap. 100 also deals with Kṛṣṇa-bhakta-māhātmya, i.e., eulogistic glorification of the devotees of Kṛṣṇa. The ideal manners and customs of a devoted Vaisnava have been praised. It has been ordained that in everything there exists Kṛṣṇa.

According to the colophon of chap. 101 the main theme centres round the eulogy of Kṛṣṇa¹⁰. It describes different kinds of Vaisnavas and its known associates.

Chaps. 102-103 describe the sin caused by not muttering the name of Kṛṣṇa (nāmāparādha-kathana). In this connection a reference to a few low-castes is given and it has been

⁷ kṛṣṇa-bhakti-vimuktaye vācyaṁ śrī-kṛṣṇa-kośa-kāṇḍe /

manvantarāntika-kāṇḍe vācyaṁ jama-gāyatrī // 2. 212a

⁸ The col. 11. 101 purāṇa-purāṇa vācyaṁ kṛṣṇa-bhakti-vimuktaye vācyaṁ /

śrī-kṛṣṇa-kośa-kāṇḍe vācyaṁ jama-gāyatrī // 2. 212a

⁹ śrī-kṛṣṇa-kośa-kāṇḍe vācyaṁ jama-gāyatrī // 2. 212a

¹⁰ śrī-kṛṣṇa-kośa-kāṇḍe vācyaṁ jama-gāyatrī // 2. 212a

ordained that even these classes of people also are purged of serious type of sins if they recite the name of Kṛṣṇa.

The colophon of the next chap. says that this chap. deals with the prohibition of killing animals¹¹. Various aspects of the female consort of Śiva and worship of the village gods (grāma-devatā) have been referred to. Chap. 105 also more or less deals with the same topic.

It is interesting to quote the colophon of chap. 106 which is as follows:

sadāśiva-nārada-samvāde kṛṣṇa-bhakti-vivarana-kathane śankha-cakrordhva-pundra-dhārana-kṛṣṇa-dvādaśa-nāma-grahana-māhātmyam¹² . . .

Firstly it eulogises the glorification of the worship of or the attendance on the preceptors (guru-sevā-māhātmya and guru-pūjā-māhātmya) and goes on discussing the greatness (Māhātmya) of the Tulasī plant which is primarily important for Kṛṣṇa-worship. Then it says something about pundra-tilaka-vidhi, i.e., rules of (the application of) the sandal pastes. The names of the twelve parts of the sacred body of a Vaiṣṇava have been mentioned. Three kinds of worship, viz., sāttvikī, rājasī and tāmasī have been distinguished.

Chap. 107 mainly deals with the various forms of Kṛṣṇa-worship (sodaśopacāra, daśopacāra etc. etc.) which is current even today. It also mentions some articles which should not be offered at the time of worshipping Kṛṣṇa, Sūrya and Gaṇapati.

Chap. 108 elaborately describes the manner of muttering of mystic syllables (japa). Among all types of japa, mānasa-japa has been given the highest place. The names of some places have been given where japa is not allowed. Towards the end it deals with different kinds of snāna (bathing¹³) and various types of garlands (mālā¹⁴).

Chap. 109 discusses the aśauca-prakarana as Nārada asks—

¹¹ jiva himsā nṛṣedha kathane adhyāyaḥ f 241

¹² f 247a

¹³ manasa snāna, āndra snāna, vārūna-snāna etc etc f 252a

¹⁴ dhātrī phala mālā, muktā mālā, mālā made of raupya, hema, sphaṭika, rudrakṣa etc f 252b

mānavānām dvijādinām śarīrasya pavitratā /
bhavet kena prakārena kathyatām tat sadāśiva //
(fol 257a)

Śiva replies accordingly and tells about what constitutes the exact āśauca period of the Brāhmanas, Vaiśyas etc. The daily obligatory rites of the learned twice-born people have been stated. It also gives a list of the place names where one should not pass urine.

Chap 110 first of all describes the normal daily duties of a man. He after leaving his bed should take the names of guru (preceptor), sapta cirajivin (seven immortals), pañca-kanyā (five divine ladies), and others. Secondly, a Mahālakṣmī stava in fifteen vss and a Sarasvatī stava in 25 vss have been introduced.

Chap 111 deals mainly with the names of some holy places, rivers and mountains and also ten avatāras of Viṣṇu and the famous persons whose names should be taken by one after leaving one's bed. Śiva mentions the 108 names of Kṛṣṇa.

In chap 112 the greatness of the foot prints of Kṛṣṇa has been depicted¹⁵ and the different pada-cihnās of Kṛṣṇa have been analysed.

Chap 113 elaborately describes the different kinds of snāna (in all there are sixteen kinds 'soḍaśa snānam irtam' f 265a).

Chap 114 in its entirety deals with the glorification of the month of Kārttika and in chap 115 in that connection the rules of applying clay on one's body have been stated (mṛtikā lepana vidhi) and some vratas to be performed in the month of Kārttika for satisfying Viṣṇu-dāmodara have been narrated. Some social laws and orders have also been ordained.

Chap 116 deals with the religious efficacy of the early morning bath (prātaḥ-snāna) in the month of Kārttika.

In chap 117 which also is associated with the glorification of that month we find prescriptions regulating our food. It also names some trees the leaves of which should not

¹⁵ Cf col śrī-kṛṣṇa pada-cihna mātṛtmyaṇa nāma f 264b.

be taken for food and enumerates others the leaves of which may be taken for the same purpose. Finally it speaks highly of the Kārttika vratas.

The Kārttika-māhātmya is continued in chap. 118 also where especially it has been said that the worship of Kṛṣṇa with lotus in the month of Kārttika is a necessity.

Chap. 119 is concerned with the glorification of lighting a lamp in this month (i.e., dipa-dāna-māhātmya).

By means of a story the pious results of the lighting of lamps in this month have been shown in chap. 120.

While glorifying the ākāśa-dipa-dāna (celebrating the month of Kārttika with a lamp in the sky), chap. 121 narrates the story of the king of Vīdarbha and how he acquired immense wealth by offering a lamp in the sky in Kārttika.

Chap. 122 says something in eulogy of Yama and prescribes the worship of Lakṣmī.

Chap. 123 expressly says that even the worship of a Viṣṇu-bhakta, i.e., devoted Vaiṣṇava leads one to the heaven.

Chap. 124 deals with the glorifications of cow-worship (go-pūja māhātmya).

In chap. 125, Nārada enquires which of the vows (vratas) is the greatest and Brahmā accordingly speaks to him all about Yama dvitīya to be held on the second lunar day in the bright half of the month of Kārttika. It is to be observed for securing protection from accidental or untimely death¹⁶. The worship of Brahma, Viṣṇu, Rudra and Sarasvatī also have been ordained.

Chap. 126 eulogises the month of Kārttika in general without presenting an analytical description or study of any particular vrata, at the end it inculcates the Aśvattha-māhātmya.

Chaps. from 127 to 131 deal with the glorification of Dhatri, Śalagrāma-śilā (in two chaps), Śankha and Tulasi respectively.

Bhīṣma-pañca-vidhī has been glorified in chap. 132.

¹⁶ apamṛtyu nivāraṇam f. 286b ramyam yama dvitīyākhyayām apamṛtyu nivāraṇam f. 287b

where it has been said that King Atithi of solar dynasty in Ayodhyā with his queen Candrabhāvinī observed that vrata¹⁷ and attained the region of Viṣṇu (viṣṇu loka) thereby

In chaps 133-134 Satyabhāmā wants to know what pious deeds performed resulted in her union with Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa replies accordingly and gives her an account of her pious life in her previous births

Chap 135 deals with the story of demon Śankha—how he defeated Indra and other gods, captured the throne of heaven, carried away by force the Vedas and took refuge inside the sea. Viṣṇu being eulogised by other gods, assumed the shape of a śaṅkha and rescued the Vedas

Chap 136 deals with the origin of Prayāga and Vadarikaśrama¹⁸

Chap 137 describes the rules and regulations of worship and awaking (puja jāgarana vidhi)

Chap 138 treats of the different rites of bathing (snāna vidhi)

Chap 139 also deals with jagarana and niyama-vidhi

In chap 140 the rules and regulations relating to the observance of Ūrja śukla caturdaśī have been discussed. Their procedure has been noted and some importance has been attested for it

Chap 162 is concerned with the birth story of Rādhā. Here Nārada asks Śiva—

‘kathyatāṃ me mahadeva rādhā janma kathā prabho /
katham jatā varāroha kṛṣṇa-kantasu sa varā //
kasmīn mase tithau kasyaṃ pakṣe ka sū ca rādhikā /’

(f 233a)

and Śiva replies accordingly

Chap 163 deals only with several names of Rādhā and enumerates the names of sects who should not be allowed

¹⁷ at h r nāma devapre-dharmā mānuka ya śakti /
tena dattam purā rājāś vra am kṛtam anuttamam //
bhāgyaś candrabhāvinī yāś cā tīrte bhāgavata-pāṇcakam /
f 300

¹⁸ See col 11 of padma purāṇa uṣṇa khanda kṛṣṇa-satyabhāmā-samvāde
kṛitika māhātmye prayāga vaṭarikaśrama-prabhavo nāma f 303b.

to associate themselves with the birth-celebration of Rādhā¹⁹

Chap 164 mentions the names of many deified lords, including Kṛṣṇa with some of his incarnations and certain female deities to whom worship should be offered

Chap 165 denounces all the sects other than the Vaisnava

Chap 166 glorifies Vṛndāvana in eulogistic terms

Chap 167 deals with the hundred names of Annapūrṇa and notes the merit achieved by a man in taking these names²⁰

Chap 168 describes the glorification of the month of Vaisākha and in this connection prescribes the worship of Mādhava

Chap 169 discusses a few social laws and orders

Chap 170 also deals with the Vaisākha mahātmya

In chap 171 the Vaisnava religion has been spoken of as the best and its supremacy is proved by a story

Chap 172, i.e., the last but one chap, deals with a brief summary of the contents of all the chaps (This is a special characteristic of the Bengal mss. All of them in a chap describe the summary of the whole of the work)

Chap 173 (i.e., the last one) is concerned with the results obtainable from this purāṇa (phala śruti)

We have already remarked that this Khanda of the Bengal recension cannot be said to have been composed at an early date. On the contrary there are evidences to show that it is a very recent work. It frequently refers to the *Mbh*²¹ *Gītā*²² and *Bhagavata*,²³ mentions purāṇa, upapurāṇa, agama-

¹⁹ 1. śrī padma purāṇe uttara khaṇḍe śrī sadas va narada samvade śrī hari bhakti vivaraṇa kathāne śrī rādhā janmāṣṭami kathāna mahātmyam f 337b

²⁰ śrī mad annapurṇā śata nama mahātmyam f 346b

²¹ Chap 102 f 234a

²² na va gītā samam i haṣam sarvaṃ ca bharatam //

durgāya yac-ch venoktaṃ gītā mahātmyam uttamam /

v v dhopakhyāna yutaṃ va kuṇṭha prāpakam nṛpa //

tac-chṛṇuṣva mahābhāga sarva pāpa praṇāśanam /

bhav śyaḥ kṛtārthas tvam yac chrutvā samsṛter bhayāt //

ity etat kath taṃ guhyaṃ purāṇam samh tatmakam /

arcayasva bhṛṣikeśam yadicchasy avyayaṃ padam // chap 165 f 340b

Moreover there are the glorifications of each chap of the *Gītā*

²³ tatra prapujayed enaṃ v dhum bhagavatam śukam // chap 78 f 170

tantra-śāstra, pañcarātra-saṃhitā, yāmala etc.,²¹ mentions Rādhā, the female consort of Kṛṣṇa and is acquainted with the combined mantra of the two, i.e., Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa²². It frequently eulogises the sacred Tulasī plant²³ and betrays knowledge of the pañcāyatana-pūjā, i.e., the worship of the five deities of which Ganapati has been referred to as the central deity of the Gāṇapatya sect²⁴ which, it is admitted,

yasyeṣṭam śrī bhāgavatam śāstram śrī bhagavān hariḥ /
bhagavatyā samam lakṣmyā bhaktiyā bhāgavatasya saḥ // chap. 91 f 223a
ajīdala-purāṇīni dhṛtīni ca śrutiṇi ca /
teṣāṃ madhye bhāgavatam sarvam vāṇavam ucyate // chap. 112 f 263b
nityam bhāgavatam ya-tu purāṇam śroutam-narab / chap. 126 f 290a
na śrī bhāgavata-samam purāṇopapurāṇakam // chap. 165 f 340b
yat kṛpāid vāṇavam kṛma mūḍa-mukhā h-dhāravam /
etad-anyaḥ bhāgavatam glāḥ śa paṭhanāś kam // chap. 165 f 341a

²¹ śruti-smṛti purāṇopapurāṇeṣv āgameṣu ca /
saṃhitā-tantra-śāstreṣu gūṇe jīvalāḥ //
pañcarātrādikṛtāpāṇa . // chap. 43 f 10b
kavacam tu stava-ślotram vaiṣṇava śāstram-eva ca /
purāṇopapurāṇāni vāṇavāni saḥ śrutiḥ //
vaiṣṇavāḥ sama-dhṛtīni śrī mad-glāḥ kam tu yat /
vaiṣṇavā saṃhitā tantram yāmalaṃ pañcarātrakam //
chap. 58 f 121a
śruti-smṛti purāṇopapurāṇe bhāgavate bhīḥ /
pañcarātrādikṛtāpāṇe vaiṣṇava-śāstram tu yat //
chap. 73 f 160a
vedīgama-purāṇeṣu yatāḥ p'ṇāḥ devaḥ /
ta-tra-mātra-vaiḥāṇa //

came into being at a comparatively late period²⁸ It knows the Rāmānuja sect and mentions it²⁹

That it cannot be dated much earlier can further be proved from an interesting story narrated here We give it below in details

In ancient days in Drāvida in the region of the Southern sea, there ruled a king named Citrasena (according to the printed text the name of the king was Citra—Uttara khanda 250 1b) He was very powerful and was skilled in the use of śastra and astra His treasury was filled with money and jewels plundered and collected from the defeated countries He had a very good physique and possessed a pleasing appearance He sported with thousands of beautiful ladies in pleasure gardens³⁰ He was a pious king, performed many sacrifices, gave a vast amount of wealth as Dakṣiṇā and charity and received a number of guests every day³¹ The king paid equal respect to the Trinity, i e, Brahma, Viṣṇu, and Mahesa³² As days passed by, some Paśandins came to him and tried to influence him with the ideologies of the Āgamic Śaivas They dwelt on the glorification of their creed and denounced the other sectarian ideologies in the following way to the king All the bondages of life are

saurasya gaṇapa yasya śa vader bhur man nām // chap 100 f 227a

sa vah saura gāṇapatya vrātyā gov nda nindakāḥ // chap 104 f 240b

sauram śaktam gaṇapa yam śa vām paśyama ca na jayet //

tulas b lva patras ca pujayed devatām p tuḥ /

diśy agneyyam ganapat m na rṣ yām śrīpa m nyaset // chap 126 f 290a

Chap 107 (ff 247a 249b) deals with the details of Gaṇapat worship among others

²⁸ J G J R I vol V 1948 pt 4 pp 263 276

²⁹ ta hā bhakt ḥ ṣoḍaśadhā kath tā yatnato mayā /

śrīmad ramanuḡa dīkṣa-v dhānam v dū pūrvakam // chap 78 f 171b

ṣaṭprakarā v snu bhakta bhavanty acara bhedataḥ /

da vaḥ śrīṣ-tattva vadī ca brahma vadī caturthakaḥ //

avatāra paras ca va kṛṣṇa nṛṣṭhaś ca narada //

chap 101 f 231b

³⁰ rūpa yauvana saṃpannaḥ str sahasra ḥ samam mudā /

udyanēṣu ca kṛṣṇan sa nār bh ḥ pariveṣṭ taḥ // chap 15 f 37a b

³¹ yajñā nanā v dhas tena kṛ a hi bahu-dakṣ ṇaḥ /

n tyam dānam parasya va n tyam cātith pujanam //

chap 15 f 37a

³² brahmā viṣṇu mahēṣu samam bhaktim tatha karot //

chap 15 f 37a

removed from one who is initiated in the Śaiva dīksā which can be accepted by all irrespective of caste and creed. There is no necessity for charity, for observance of vratas, for reciting from the Vedas or for performance of sacrifice. Only by besmearing one's body with holy ashes of Śiva, one becomes a permanent attendant of Śiva and rests in bliss with Him no matter whether he holds in his head matted locks or tuft of hair at its back or is clean shaven. A man, whether he is blind, a hunch-back, an idiot, a fool or even a Śūdra, is able to come into the fold of Śaivism which is open to all. Vālmīki was formerly a thief but later on became the foremost of the dvijas, Viśvāmitra, a Kṣatriya by caste, attained Brāhmanism by means of penance. So no distinction should be made among Śiva worshippers. Śaiva philosophy is the greatest of all philosophies in the world. The followers of Śaivism have to observe certain rules and regulations. They do not worship any other god except Śiva. They do not even bow down to a Vaiṣṇava image, not to speak of worshipping it. Whenever they come across an image of Viṣṇu they commit offence to Śiva and through this fault they are led to the Raurava Naraka after their death. One who is afraid of dangers in this world and wants to be relieved of them should not tolerate even the utterance of the name of Viṣṇu. A devotee of Śiva, if he wants to delight his Lord, should kill a Vaiṣṇava at any time anywhere on the earth³³. One who does it is sure to get a place in Kailasa after death. To follow this rule means bringing happiness to oneself³⁴.

With these words the Paśandins were able to deceive the king who being pleased gave them villages, elephants, horses, gold and jewels, and followed their advice. He at once renounced the Vedic rites, began to blame the brahmins Smṛtis and Vedas. The sacred fire inside his fire-chamber became extinct in course of time. His officers also followed the same direction. They kept matted locks on their heads

³³ *śaiva-śaiva varṇavao vadhyaśā sarva-dharmā sarvāḥ /*
śaiva bhaktina mūḍhākam śaiva pūṣṭam-śrīḥ //
 chap. 15 f. 28a

³⁴ Chap. 15 f. 37-38

and besmeared their bodies with the sacred ashes. Censure of Viṣṇu became prevalent in his kingdom. The king proclaimed that one who would read or utter the name of Viṣṇu in his country would be punished by death. The devoted Vaiṣṇavas among his subjects being afraid, migrated from his kingdom to other countries. Some of his Dravida subjects began to keep long matted hair and besmear their bodies with holy ashes. They gave up their Vedic rites, did no longer accord welcome to the guests, or paid heed to vrātas, penance or charity and began to follow evil ways³⁵. There was no sacrificial mantra ever sounded in the country, no svahā or svadhā was heard. Nobody worshipping Viṣṇu was found. The king as well as his subjects freely cast aspersions on the name of Viṣṇu. All the Viṣṇu temples were demolished and all the Vaiṣṇava idols were thrown away to the waters of the sea³⁶. In this way the king was dissuaded from the right path of Dharma and along with his subjects became cruel, pitiless and ruthless. Henceforth adharma gained a permanent footing in his kingdom on account of which the clouds did no more pour, hence the towns and villages did not prosper and the Dravida people had to depend entirely on waters from the rivers. The brahmins, their means of maintenance of livelihood being lost adopted the tree planting business³⁷. They lost their usual respect. Nobody paid any tax or revenue to the king who was unmindful of the customary rites, sacrificial fire and social or moral law and order. He was like Kālī incarnate.

Now this king after his death had to undergo severe punishments³⁸.

There is a tradition about Kulottunga Cola II, the famous emperor of the Cola dynasty, that he, being a staunch supporter of Śaivism gave some spasmodic outburst of anti

³⁵ kumarga n ratābhavan // chap 15 f 38b

³⁶ u khā a va ṣṇavāḥ śa va ḥ prāsādas tatra ye sth āb /
va ṣṇava pra maḥ sarvāḥ praks ptāḥ sāgarāmbhas //
chap 15 f 38b

³⁷ vṛkṣān āropya vartante brāhmanā vṛ t pīḍ āh //
chap 15 f 38b

³⁸ See Uttara khaṇḍa 250 10 ff for his suffer ings af er death

Vaiṣṇava feeling. He was a 'fanatic Śaiva who wanted to upset the time-honoured disposition of the images of Śiva and Viṣṇu.³⁹' From this it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the author came later than the king whose activities he had either seen or heard and utilising its kernel he went on fabricating the story of glorification of Viṣṇu by presenting a sorrowful picture of the adherents of Śaivism in their after-life. Kulottuṅga Cola I ascended the throne in 1070 A.D.⁴⁰ and Kulottuṅga II in 1133 A.D.⁴¹.

The date of the composition of the Bengal recension of the Uttara-khanda in the present form can be pushed further. A careful reading of the ms. will show that the influence of the Rādhā-vallabhins is not rare in this work⁴². They are quite a modern sect, founded by one Harivamśa in about 1585 A.D.⁴³. Thus it can be safely said that the Uttara-khanda was composed about the 2nd half of the seventeenth century. Ratnākarakandall's *Sahasra-rāma-rītā-dīpa*—Assamese rendering of a small tract of the Uttara-khanda—has for its source the Devanāgarī recension of the *Paś-ā-p.*⁴⁴ and not the Bengal counterpart.

CHAPTER IV

VARIOUS TREATISES CLAIMING TO BELONG TO THE PADMA-PURĀNA

The popularity of a Purānic work is indirectly proved by the number of treatises which claim to belong to that work. Some of the Purānas became very much popular in the later period and so a number of treatises has been attached to them thereby giving these things a garb of antiquity and sacredness. But whatever these writers' endeavours may be, the apocryphal and therefore spurious character of these treatises is easily discernible. It should, however, be borne in mind that there is also a good number of treatises which claim to be a part of some Purānic works and this claim should be called legitimate as on observation these are found to have been faithfully copied from some chaps. of a Purānic work. They are merely reprints of some chaps. of a Purāna. This type of work is not included in our discussion for obvious reasons. Our interest is limited only to those different works which although claiming to belong to the *Padma-p* are not really a part of it, as after analysis, it is found that neither the Devanāgarī recension of the *Padma-p* nor the Bengal recension of it contains them. It should be mentioned here that none of these treatises has been printed or studied as yet. But as the number of such treatises is very big,¹ we intend to examine only those which are comparatively important and easily available.

¹ Ramadas Gaud in his *Hinduism* (pp. 208-209) mentions the name of 68 treatises as belonging to the *Padma p*. But on an actual examination of the different catalogues of Sanskrit mss. the number is found to be much more than that.

(1) BHATTAHARA-CARITA

The Bhaṭṭahara-carita,² of which a ms. no. G. 8165 has been preserved in the Asiatic Society (Calcutta) should be considered to be a work of immense importance. The varied information contained in the unique work is really valuable.

It is to be noted that this work claims to be a part of the Pātāla-khanda of the *Padma-p.* At the end of the last chap. it has the following colophons—

iti śrī-padma-purāṇe pātāla-khanda
bhaṭṭahara-carite caturvidha-purusārtha-prasaṅga-
nirūpane pañcaviṃśatitamo'dhyāyaḥ³

Such readings as 'iti śrī-padma-purāṇe pātāla-khanda bhaṭṭahara-carite' etc. are found to occur in many of its chap.-colophons, and nowhere does it claim to be a part of any other work or say anything about its independent character. But how far its claim to be a part of the Pātāla-khanda can be called legitimate, is a matter of serious consideration, because the printed editions of the *Padma-p.* do not incorporate the Bhaṭṭahara-carita or a part thereof anywhere in their texts. Moreover, in chap. 92 of the *Nāradya-p.* which gives an analysis of the *Padma-p.* including an outline of the topics dealt with in the Pātāla-khanda, there is no indication that the author of the said chap. of the *Nāradya-p.* saw or utilised the Bhaṭṭahara-carita. So, it seems that the Bhaṭṭahara-carita did not originally belong to the *Padma-p.* and this possibility is supported by the comparatively late date of the Bhaṭṭahara-carita itself.

If by relying on the claim of the Bhaṭṭahara-carita we take this work to be a genuine part of the Pātāla-khanda, then we are to assume that it was excluded from the text of the Pātāla-khanda long before the period of composition

¹ Our analysis of the work is based on the ms. no. of the Asiatic Society (Calcutta) for a description of which see Hargreaves' *Manus. Cat.* vol. V p. 212 (Here the name has been entered as Bhaṭṭahara-carita).

² See Bhattacharyya's note, p. 206.

of the sud chap of the *Nāradya p* and also before the time when the oldest existing mss of the Pātāla-khanda were copied. It is needless to say that this assumption would require to presume that the Bhattahara-carita is an old work coming from a time prior to that of the rise of the present text of the *Padma-p*.

That the Bhattahara-carita never belonged to the Pātāla-khanda is also indirectly proved by Gopālabhatta's *Hari-bhakti-vilasa* which quotes a large number of vss from the Pātāla-khanda of the *Padma-p* but not a single line from the Bhattahara-carita.

Though a spurious and comparatively late work the Bhattahara-carita has very judiciously tried to take the shape of a Purāna. We know that the first topic to be dealt with in a Purāna is creation (Sarga) ⁴. Likewise this work also, after a few benedictory vss, goes on describing, although very briefly the creation and gradual development of the world—from the origin of Brahmā to that of the Gandharvas and Kinnaras. Thus it leaves no stone unturned to prove its own self to be a genuine Purāna or at least a part of it.

Although the chief object of the writer of this work is to give a pen-picture of the Medapātas of Ajmere (Rājasthāna), he was clever enough to introduce some stories from the *Mbh* in order to give this work the character of a part of a Purāna. He was aware of the fact that none would pay attention to his work if it dealt only with the Medapātas in whom the people at large were hardly interested. So, on fols 124 ff he introduced a *Mbh* story, viz, that of Parīksit and Janamejaya which tells us that once Parīksit tied a dead snake round the neck of a sage and for this act he was cursed by the son of the latter. In consequence of that curse, the king was killed by the formidable serpent Taksaka. Being furious, Janamejaya, son of Parīksit made arrangements for destroying the whole race of the snakes by performing a sacrifice. The race of the snakes was going out of existence but at last it was saved by Āstika.

⁴ Cf. Amaraśiṃha's fivefold characteristics of a Purāna.

It is obvious that the famous story of the *Mbh* has got no bearing on the first half of the work which exclusively deals with the Medapātas. The *Mbh*. story has been very cleverly introduced with numerous reference to the worship of Kṛṣṇa,⁵ although in other part, which also deals with the Medapātas, such references to Kṛṣṇa are hardly observable.

The author while narrating the story of Parīkṣit and Janamejaya, did not forget his chief object, viz., the delineation of the Medapātas, and hence, after bringing the Medapāta-story to a close, he again gave us information about the Medapātas in fols. 191ff till the end of the work.

Thus we see that the author of the Bhattahara-carita has left no stone unturned to give his work the air of a genuine Purāṇa so that it might be accepted as a part of the Pātāla-khanda of the *Padma-p.*; yet the conclusion seems to be irresistible that it does not at all form a part of the *Padma-p.* although it claims to be so

That this Bhattahara-carita is a work of immense importance can be little doubted. It has twofold importance. Primarily, as we have stated above, it throws a flood of light

⁵ Bhattahara-carita,

avito viṣṇuṇā śikṣāt pradakṣiṇena cakṛiṇī f 124b
 kuru pāṇḍu-nṛpeśānāṃ viṣṇurāto bhūmanyujāḥ f 124b
 kṛṣṇaṃ dṛṣṭvā prasannātmā babhūva vidhiṣṭumān f 124b
 sa eva kṛṣṇo bhagavān brahma-nitya nirañjanāḥ f 129b
 kṛṣṇārtha tattvavṛttib irdi kṛṣṇaḥ kila nūrūpyate f 199b
 govardhanāḥ prabhuḥ f 130a
 kṛṣṇa kamala pātrākṣaḥ svayaṃ brahma samanvayaḥ f 130b
 avidyā vañcitāḥ prāṇī kṛṣṇānugraham antarā f 131b
 saṃpālra āgarāṃ tartum na bhavec-chaṭumān kvaci /
 kṛṣṇa-kīrtana kartāro yatra santi mahāśayāḥ // f 134b
 kṛṣṇa-kīrtana-saṃyogaṃ sarvadāpy-evam ūṣayet f 135a
 prajāḥ śānta bhūpāle kṛṣṇa-devena rakṣite f 136a
 sarveśān-apareśān tu viṣṇu-dharmādhuṣāṇḍi f 136b
 saṃphalā viṣṇurāśikhyā irdi kṛṣṇena vinirmatā f 156b
 kṛṣṇa kīrtur-mahat phalam f 158b
 mama viśva-darapārya kṛṣṇasya karuṇekṣaṇt f 165b
 tathā kṛṣṇena kṛṣṇena svena svasya parīkṣitāḥ f 167a
 saṃpṛāpta kṛṣṇa kīrṇyaḥ sahaś jātā-nukayāḥ f 169a
 viṣṇurāto viṣṇurāto f 171a
 kṛṣṇasya vacanāḥ kṛṣṇa-saṃpṛāptib f 179b
 kṛṣṇa kīrtana khedaḥ-cacīra janamejayaḥ f 190b
 māhṛṣṇatī tu nagarī kṛṣṇa-kīrtana-līlā f 191a. etc etc.

on the hitherto unknown or slightly known Bhaṭas, (also called Bhattas) and Medapātas, secondarily, it gives the contents of the Bhūmi-khanda of the *Padma-p* in its earlier form. As we have discussed the latter in our study of the Bhūmi-khanda of the *Padma-p*, we are concerned here chiefly with the Bhaṭas and the Medapātas.

There are epigraphic and other reference to prove that 'Medapāta' is the name of modern Mewar.⁶ Our ms. contains two passages which seem to suggest the location of Medapāta. They are as follows:

astī bhārate khande'smin pavitraḥ paramottamah /
medapāta itī khyāto deśarājah suśobhanah //
aneka-tīrtha-nikaraiḥ puskarādyaiḥ samanvitah /
citrakūta-trikūtādi giriḥḥ pariraksitah //
sarit-saro-nadākīrṇah kāmāpūrah kṛpānvayah /
khanoparāma-vāpibhīr-devakhātaiḥ suvistrtaḥ //
puskarādyaiḥ pavitrāmśah sarvato'tīmanoharah /
gramo yatra na saṁvāso gopa-gokula-sundarah //⁷
and

rajann-āste trikūtādrir-ekalingasya sevayā /
giri rajanyatām dhatte nījānanda-gunodayaiḥ //
tathā ca puskarāma yasmāt nātidūre pravartate /
visaye medapatākhye citrakūtādi-mandite //⁸

These clearly point out that Medapāta was protected on all sides by the mountains Citrakūta and Trikūṭa, Puskarā was not very far from there and that there were other sacred places near by. Puskarā, as we all know, is the modern sacred place of the same name, situated in Ajmere. It is not very difficult to identify the Citrakūta mountain. It is certainly the modern Citorgadh in the Udaypur state of Rājasthāna.⁹

⁶ See Nundo Lal De *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India* p. 129

⁷ Bhaṭṭahara carita f. 14a b

⁸ Ib. d. f. 177b

⁹ Cf. śobhā bandhyah sa v. ndhyah suraguru noccakūṭas-trikūṭah /
kailasā cāvīlāso h magir r amahān vāmanābhah sunābhah //
mainākah pākārupah sakala vasumatī-datta netra prasāde /
prāsāde dyotamāne ravi ratha turaga prāpta vīrāntike smun //

There are inscriptional records which connect the Citrakūṭa mountain with Medapāṭa. The following lines may be quoted from the Citorgaḍh-praśasti —

asty adbhutaḥ kṣudharaḥ kila citrakūṭa-
tenāvanī maghavarī paṇḍityamīnab /
śrī medapāṭa-dharaṇī tarunī lalīṣa
paṭte sphuṭam mukuṭātām upāṣkate vah / 19

According to Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* Trikūṭa is situated in the western countries of India.¹¹ Sometimes it has been identified with Junnar¹² in Kathiawad. Moreover, the distance from Citor to Puskarā may be about 150 miles.¹³ Thus we see that taking all the evidences into consideration it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Medapāṭa of the m. is the present-day Mewar in Rājasthān.

We will presently show how the m. abounds in references to the worship of Śiva. This proves that the inhabitants of Medapāṭa were generally the devoted worshippers of Śiva. The inscriptional evidences also corroborate this. The object of the Citorgaḍh inscription¹⁴ is to record the erection of a temple of God Śiva at Citrakūṭa. The object of the Citorgaḍh inscription of the Caulukya Kumārapāla¹⁵ also is to record a visit of the Caulukya king Kumārapāla to

Mount Citrakūta, the modern Citorgadh and some donations which on that occasion were made by the king in favour of a temple of the god Samiddheśvara (Śiva) on the summit of the mountain ¹⁶ Thus the conclusion is now almost irresistible that Medapāta of the ms is Medapāta of the inscriptions, there being no difference between the two Thus Medapāta (मेदपाट > मेमवाड > मेवाड) of the ms is the present-day Mewar in Rājasthān.

At the very outset, the title of the work recorded in our ms appears confusing Although its name is Bhattahara-carita, yet it does not deal with the Bhattaharas but with the Medapātas The questions naturally arise, "Why is the anomaly? Who are these Medapātas? Are they different from the Bhattaharas?" We shall have to take the help of the ms itself to find the answers It distinctly says that the Bhattaharas are the Medapātas ¹⁷ So the author has done nothing wrong in describing the Medapātas while the name of the ms is Bhattahara-carita

From the evidence furnished by the ms itself it appears that the Bhattas or Bhatas (as has been mentioned in some places in the ms), though included in the Medapāta race, formed the higher section of people ¹⁸ The reason for their superiority is not known, but one thing has definitely been asserted It is that the Bhatas were regarded as brahmins There are numerous references to prove their brahminhood ¹⁹

¹⁶ samn veśya s (ś) v ram prthu tatra trās tāsahana bhūpat cakram /
citrakuṭa giri puṣkala śobhām draṣṭumāra nṛpat h kutukena / /
Ep Ind vol II p 423

¹⁷ Bhattahara-carita

bhattaharās-te bhaṭṭā medapāta pras ddi atah f 17b

¹⁸ Ib d

medapāṭottarā bhaṭṭā f 72b

medapāṭottara etc f 192a

medapāṭottaro bhaṭṭo f 192b etc etc

¹⁹ Ib d

medapāta dv jānvayaḥ f 18a

bhaṭṭanvaya bhavān etān medapāṭān dv janmānaḥ f 20a

syad dv jo bhaṭṭa samjñ taḥ f 52a

medapāta kulot h a bhaṭṭa nāma dv jottamāḥ f 52a

bhaṭṭanām dvija rājānām f 70b

bhaṭṭā brāhmaṇa sattamāḥ f 70b

But it has also been said in this work that there was prevalence of the Śūdra caste also among them.²⁰ Those who did not observe the social and religious customs prevailing among them²¹ were regarded as outcastes and Śūdras, and it has been ordained that the Śūdras could attain the respectable position of Bhaṭṭas by serving the feet of the brahmins like servants, and that by means of service to the brahmins they could become pure in heart. The following lines of the ms. are quoted in support of our statement:—

dvijapāda-seyāvān laghv-ātma-guna-gauravaḥ / /
 śūdro'pi bhaṭṭa-jātiyaḥ kiṃ punaś-cet sa vādavaṇ /
 dāsavat paricaryāvān śūdro bhavitum-arhati / /
 parivāra-prayukto'pi dvijanma-kṛta-sevayā /
 vyavahāra-viśuddhātmā śūdraḥ sambhavati svataḥ / /
 mukhya-vṛttir-iyam khyātā śūdryā nātmavidāṃ tayā /
 paricaryā-parādhīnyam dvijāgrānām nirantaram / /²²

But the most interesting point to note is that the Medapāṭas (including the Bhaṭṭas) claim themselves to be Nāgara brahmins. It has been specifically mentioned that they were called by the people as 'Nāgara'.²³ While going to give an explanation of their name 'Nāgara' the ms says that those Bhattaharas (i.e., Medapāṭas) should be named Nāgaras

bhattaharākhyānām dvijānām f. 71b

medapāṭottarā bhaṭṭa dvijanmāno manṣipah f. 72b.

caturvimpāti bhaṭṭāḍi medapāṭa-dvijāṭipah f. 191b.

śrī bhaṭṭa medapāṭinām brāhmaṇinām nityamakab f. 203b

prayojanam idam teṣāṃ bhaṭṭinām dvija janmanām f. 205b.

²⁰ Ibid.,

śūdro'pi bhaṭṭa jātiyaḥ f. 103b.

ime syur-bhaṭṭa-nāmlnab śūdrā api mahādhyah f. 71b

śūdrāṇām sevinaṃ bhaṭṭaje kule f. 71a

śūdrasya varjyaḥ śīpa-guṇino bhaṭṭa samsthitau f. 124a.

²¹ Ibid., veda-vāhyai-cānācāri f. 100a.

²² Ibid., f. 103

The word 'dvija' here most probably refers to the brahmins.

²³ Bhattahara-carita,

vadīyanti janāḥ samyak nāgarān-iti nirodyaḥ /

nāgarān-iti tasmāt tu vadanti karayā-tv-amāḥ / / f. 17a.

as they were protected by the Nāgas.²⁴ In another place, the explanation of their name has been given in the following way, 'These, superior to Medapātas (i.e., Bhatas) were known as the Nāgaras as they were devoted to Śiva.'²⁵ But how far their evidence of the racial affinity with the Nāgara brahmins would be tenable is really not known. Only from a few references from one ms., it would be hardly justified to connect the Medapātas with the Nāgara brahmins. D. R. Bhandarkar has tried to give the reason of the name Nāgara and suggested that it may be derived from the place-name 'Nagar or Nagarkot, the old name of Kāngdā, situated in the Swalakh hills in the Punjab.'²⁶ Thus we see that the explanation of the name Nāgara differs. Not only this, but none of the available inscriptions also which throws light on the Medapātas even hints at the point that they were regarded at least to some extent as Nāgara brahmins. It is a settled fact that the Nāgara brahmins belonged to Vaijvapa gotra²⁷ but throughout the ms. not even a single reference to this gotra is found. The name of the tutelary deity of the Nāgaras is the Linga called Hātakesvara.²⁸ But no such reference to Hātakesvara Śiva is found in the ms. Moreover, the surnames²⁹ of the Nāgara brahmins which are the most important signs to recognise them, have not been given in the ms. Thus taking all these points into consideration, it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that no great weight should be given on the Medapātas' claim to be the Nāgara brahmins as found in the ms.

²⁴ Ibid ,

syur-bhatahara nāmāno nāgarā nāga rakṣaṇāt f 17b

nāgendra gaṇa rakṣāto nāgarā manvate f 39a

bhaṭā nāgara kāryeṇa nāgā nāgara (ra)kṣaṇāt f 192b

²⁵ Ibid , medapātottarā etc nāgarāṇi (nāgarā) hara-saṁśrayāt f 192a

²⁶ D. R. Bhandarkar, 'The Nagar Brahmins and the Bengali Kayasthas', Ind. Ant., vol LXI, 1932 p 46

²⁷ See J A S B, 1909 pp 167 187, also M L Mathur, 'Origin of the Guhilots were they Nagar Brāhman?', I H Q., vol XXVI, 1950 p 265

²⁸ Ind Ant., vol LXI, 1932 p 45

²⁹ datta guptau nanda ghoṣau śarma-dāsau ca varma ca /

nāga-datta strāta bhūtau mitra-devau bhavastathā / /

See D. R. Bhandarkar, 'Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population', Ind Ant., vol XL, 1911 p 32

From a scrutinising analysis of the ms. much can be said about the religious inclinations of the Medapātas. They were, as we have noticed earlier, the staunch supporters of Śaivism. Quite a good number of times Śiva has been described as the Lord of the Medapātas.²⁰ They are said to have been prospering under the protection of Śiva.²¹ He was a constant well-doer of them.²² They offered Him worship with flowers and sandal-pastes.²³ It has also been held that Lord Śiva or Ekaliṅga was worshipped even by the ancestors of the Medapātas and the Bhaṭas.²⁴

But however strong the supporters of Śaivism the Medapātas may be, it will be a height of folly if we presume that they were satisfied with this particular sectarian motive of them. The ms. abounds in references to the worship of Kātyāyanī, Ambikā, Vindhya-vāsinī, Annapūrnā, Māheśvarī²⁵ etc. which seem to point to the element of Śakti at

²⁰ Bhāṭahara-carita.

etad-eva jagat pradaṁ dṛṣṭvā kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ
dāyā yab na nirmatāb na bhagavān dṛṣṭvā yab bhāṭ / / 1 27a
etad-eva jagat pradaṁ dṛṣṭvā kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ
pradaṁ dṛṣṭvā pradaṁ dṛṣṭvā pradaṁ dṛṣṭvā kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ
jayati bhāṭahara-caritā

etad-eva jagat pradaṁ dṛṣṭvā kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ

etad-eva jagat pradaṁ dṛṣṭvā kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ

²¹ Bhāṭ, bhāṭahara-caritā dṛṣṭvā kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ

²² Bhāṭ.

etad-eva jagat pradaṁ dṛṣṭvā kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ
etad-eva jagat pradaṁ dṛṣṭvā kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ

²³ Bhāṭ.

etad-eva jagat pradaṁ dṛṣṭvā kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ
etad-eva jagat pradaṁ dṛṣṭvā kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ

²⁴ Bhāṭ.

etad-eva jagat pradaṁ dṛṣṭvā kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ
etad-eva jagat pradaṁ dṛṣṭvā kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ

In one place there is even one of the practitioners of the worship of Bhāṭa and it has been stated that once Bhāṭa is not known as Bhāṭa, yet Bhāṭa is

etad-eva jagat pradaṁ dṛṣṭvā kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ

etad-eva jagat pradaṁ dṛṣṭvā kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ

etad-eva jagat pradaṁ dṛṣṭvā kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ

etad-eva jagat pradaṁ dṛṣṭvā kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ
etad-eva jagat pradaṁ dṛṣṭvā kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ
etad-eva jagat pradaṁ dṛṣṭvā kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ

²⁵ Bhāṭ.

etad-eva jagat pradaṁ dṛṣṭvā kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ

etad-eva jagat pradaṁ dṛṣṭvā kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ

etad-eva jagat pradaṁ dṛṣṭvā kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ kṛtāṁ

connected with Śiva. Thus, although the Śaiva element predominates, the Śakti was nevertheless not so insignificant. It was the custom among them to worship the golden image of Umā-māheśvarī, the omnipotent and omniscient female entity of Śiva.³⁶ The image of Kātyāyanī with her four arms carrying the bow and arrows, the sword, the scimitar, and the thunderbolt respectively, was very much respected by them³⁷ and they regarded Her as the Saviour of the Bhata race and they used to worship her always.³⁸ It has been said that one, coming to Bhatahara-pura—the city of the Bhattaharas, first pays his respect to Kātyāyanī—the mother of the earth.³⁹ She would often appear before a devoted disciple and would grant him boon.⁴⁰ The Vindhya vāsini aspect of that primeval Śakti was worshipped for good fortune, happiness, prosperity and welfare of the Medapātas. She could remove the distress and misfortune of many people.⁴¹ Much happiness or welfare was due to Her.⁴² She has been regarded as the 'kalyana-koti janani'⁴³, i.e., the mother of crores of auspicious deeds.

kātyāyanī bhagavatī tadānugraha dayini f 16b

amb ka pujanam capi samyak sap samatṛkaḥ f 44b

ḍhūṇḍh naṃ jūṇp taś-ca śam sākṣiṇī vindhya vasiṇī f 54a

annapurnā vindhya vāsa devī katyāyanī tathā f 111b

tataś-ca jagad ānanda kārṇīm viśva mataram /

annapurṇām parananda dāyiniṃ // f 108b

annapurṇa samāyātā pūja darvata samyuta f 116b

³⁶ Ib d uma mahēśvarī mūrti svarṇajā paripuṇyate f 118b

³⁷ Ib d,

yatrāste sakalartha sādhanā vidhau kātyāyanī devatā /

bāṇaṃ khaḍgam aśvī tathā ca kuṣīṇaṃ hastaiś caturbhiḥ kramāt / f 3a

ḍhūṇḍh kṣetra-patiś ca karmuka dhara katyāyanī tuṣṭhatī f 22a

³⁸ Ib d

katyāyanī bhagavat nandajā vindhya vasiṇī /

bhāṭa vamsa paritrātrī sarvada va samarcyate // f 92b

³⁹ Ib d

śrīmad bhattahara sthane prathamam viśva mātaram /

kātyāyanīm bhagavatūṃ namaskṛtyopasarpatī // f 108a

⁴⁰ Ib d

iti samstuvatam prādur babhuva jagadīśvarī /

katyāyanī gaṇeśaś ca vara danaya satvaram // f 94b-95a

⁴¹ Ib d aneka jana saṃtapa naśm vindhya vasiṇī f 106b

⁴² Ibid

b bharti bhāṭa medapaṭa sukhadā sā vindhya samvāsini f 3a.

śubho vayur bhagavatī devī śrī vindhya vasiṇī f 69b

⁴³ Ib d, f 1b

The Medapāṭas were conversant with many vratas⁴¹ It has been said that as Śiva is the sole creator of the Bhata race, He should be worshipped by the people with the observance of the Śivarātri-vrata. He should be given a special worship on each sunday at noon when the sun shines very brightly.⁴² Dhundhi-ksetra-pati should be worshipped in Pañcamī. In the month of Māgha and Caitra also He should be worshipped.⁴³ In autumn one should adhere to Bhava.⁴⁴ In the Caturthī of the month of Agraṣṭya, the Mahāpūjā of Kātyāyanī and Śiva (varadeśituh) should be celebrated. Especially at the time of the rising of the moon this vrata from its start to finish should be observed by the Medapāṭas, engaged in japa and homa. A detailed description of the Nāga-pañcamī-vrata as observed by the Bhatas is given. It has been remarked, "Those who are great in the Bhattahara clan, should observe Nāga-pañcamī as this was their family-rite. In Nāga-pañcamī, men and women should worship the Nāgas in a manner of great celebration. Images of Śeṣa and other nine Nāgas should be built; and sandal-paste, incense, flowers and others should be offered (to them). Life should be infused into those great lords of the Nāgas. In the great festival of the worship of Nāga by the merchants, craftsmen and twice-born, the brahmins should be fed and handsome charity should be made (to them). In Pañcamī the Bhaṭtas should churn cow's milk and give those as offerings and later on should take themselves those things"⁴⁵

⁴¹ Ibid., .vratavido medapāṭottara bhāṭṭh f. 123b.

⁴² Ibid., bhīmārkaś-śrīkavāreṣu sūryam-eva sa pūjyate f. 73b.

⁴³ Ibid., sathā caure ca māgha cā sampūjyate-tadvad-eva sab f. 74a.

⁴⁴ Ibid., vidyaṣa śarathāle bhava pāṭyaṇṇasavab f. 74a.

⁴⁵ Ibid.,

śrīmat bhāṭa-hara-varade ye bhavanti manūṇaḥ /
 tṛyāṃ tu jātā-dharmā-vit sampūjyā nāga pañcamī //
 śrīyāś-śrī paṇḍitāś-cha sampūjyānt-eva tām /
 nāga-paṇḍitā nāga pañcamīyām mahābhavā-vat bhāṭṭh //
 tṛyāṃ tu prasthāś kīryā nava bhāṭṭh bhāṭṭh /
 candanaś-śrī dīpāś-cha paṇḍitāś-cha sampūjyānt-eva //
 kṛtva-paṇḍitā-paṇḍitāś-cha nāga-pañcamīyām mahābhavā-vat //

Sometimes they offered worship to two great gods, viz., Kuvera and Viśvakarman also. It has been said that they should worship these two gods considering them to be their family-deities.⁴⁹ Having built a golden image of Kuvera and having the same consecrated by the brahmins, the merchants who formed a section of the Medapāṭa people, should worship that image in company with the whole of their family, by offering much wealth to the deity.⁵⁰ Viśvakarman also should be worshipped with sandal-paste, fragrant incense and similar other things.⁵¹ The worshippers must be pure in heart while offering worship to Viśvakarman. Naivedya, fruits and betel leaves should be offered to the God.⁵² These two gods in return bestow favour on their worshippers and grant them much wealth.⁵³

From a close study of the ms. much can be said regarding the profession and social customs of the Medapāṭas.

It seems that the majority of them were skilled labourers in the art of construction of houses. That they were conversant with that science is proved by numerous references in the

vanik śilpi dvijātinām nāgapujā mahotsave /
brāhmanān bhojayeyus te dadhyuś cāpi sudakṣ (kṣ) ṇām / /

pañcamyām bhaṭṭa jātīyair-gorasasya ca manthanam /
vidheyam nāga naivedyam aśitavyam nīrantaram / / f 73

⁴⁹ Ibid ,
tasmād ebhur-ime (mau) sevyau matvā svakula-daivatam f 99a.
pujayeyur-atuprītyā svātmanah kula daivatam f 99b

⁵⁰ Ibid ,
sauvarṇām pratimām kṛtvā prasthāpya dvijātmabhiḥ /
kṛtvā tāmarasam divyaṃ śobhitam vasubhiḥ //
dhanadam dhana sampadaiḥ /

varuṇaḥ pūjayeyuḥ sva parivāra-samanvitāḥ / / f 99b

⁵¹ Ibid ,
viśvakarmāṇaṃ pūjayeyuḥ /
...samyak puṣpa prakāra vastubhiḥ //
candanāguru etc. f 99b

⁵² Ibid , naivedyaḥ phala tāmbūla-satphalaḥ f 99b

⁵³ Ibid , dātāraṃ puruṣa sampadām f 99b
pūjayitvā labheyuḥ sma nikhulā api sampadaḥ f 100a.

N.B. Here there is only reference to the worship of Nārāyaṇa (sa bhaved bhāgya-nidhī-mān nārāyaṇa-parāyaṇaḥ f 100a) The reason of its occurrence here is not known.

ms itself,³⁴ and it is quite reasonable to hold that they earned their livelihood by means of that. From some other passages, it is evident that some among them had to protect the earth and it is highly probable that they were enrolled in the local troops or in the pioneer force as home-guards.³⁵ It is also noteworthy that some of them tried their best to be conversant with the art of trade³⁶ and navigation.

There were some kuladharmas of the Bhāṭas which had to be observed by them. They whole heartedly followed the *śāstras* and *ācāras* stated by the latter. They did not even think of changing their Dharma and would not mix with the people of other religions. They were satisfied with their own wives, so no question of adultery arose. They had to avoid idleness in times of work. They had to worship their preceptors, celebrate the five *yajnas* including the *Devayajña*, respect the feet of their parents and perform their *śhṛṅka* with flowers and blades of *Kuśa* (*darbhā*).³⁷ Much stress has been laid on '*atithi vatkārah*'. If a near and dear one of ordinary status arrives (*prīye sīmānva bhīve prapṛāpte nija-dhūmanī f l 40a*) he should be treated like a respectable guest. The host should closely embrace him, make him seated and himself wash his feet. He should place

on the head the water touched by the greatest of the Dvijas with his feet.⁵⁸ He should decorate his guest with the sandal-paste, fried rice and with similar other things. He should even rub the feet of his guest.⁵⁹ In short, he should look after the guest's snāna, paridhāna and bhojana.⁶⁰ If a Medapāṭa arrives, all those things mentioned above should be observed by the Bhatas, for, this is their compulsory custom.⁶¹

There was a system among them that they took money from the bridegrooms by giving away their daughter in marriage.⁶² But to give away a daughter to a foreigner belonging to a different clan presumably for earning money thereby was forbidden.⁶³

A detailed description of the marriage ceremony of the Medapāṭas has been given in the ms. An interesting feature of it is that the people who will follow the bridegroom when the latter starts for the bride's place should consist of men only and no lady should be allowed to take part in this procession.⁶⁴ It expressly says, 'The procession with no female member is an act productive of auspiciousness.'⁶⁵ The ceremonies which have been dealt with at length are almost like those of the present day.⁶⁶ A major difference is that it lays down a special 'vidhi' that after the 'nāndimukha ceremony,' the newly-married couple should come near the 'mandapa-vedī' which is befitted with the images of 'nava-

⁵⁸ Ibid. dvija rāja pādashānāt āpo mūrdhani niveśayet f 40a.

⁵⁹ Ibid. pāda-samvāhanādibhiḥ cihnāni śādhayet f 40a.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

anānādi paridhānāḥ ki kalpayet /
bhojanādi prakalpādi bhojayet sauhṛdā saha / / f 40a.

⁶¹ Ibid.,

pūrvavat paricetavyaṁ medapāṭe samāgate /
eta āvātyako dharmo bhāṭānām jāti-sambhavaḥ / / f 40b.

⁶² Ibid.,

anye ca kanyā varayāḥ karṣyanti hi vikṛavam f 50b.
gṛhītvā vittam kanyāyāḥ pradāsyanti varaya tu f 50b.

⁶³ Ibid. na param kanyakodvāham parajāti-pravṛtibhiḥ f 52b.

⁶⁴ Ibid. varayāḥ kṛvāṇāṁ pūṇyā-tatra samāśṛyāḥ subhṛtamāḥ f 41b.

⁶⁵ Ibid. purandhri varāḥ yāḥ kalyāṇa-prasava-śālā f 41b.

⁶⁶ As an instance, we may mention the kindling of sacred fire, before which the ceremony is to be performed.

graha' and worship Varadeśvara (Pārvatī and Śiva), Brahmā and other deities and the brahmins, and the ācāryas, with excellent ornaments and with scents, nuts and betel leaves⁶⁷ etc. Another characteristic point is that it has been said that the time of the feeding of the assembled guests in connection with a marriage ceremony is midday.⁶⁸ It is really very difficult to ascertain why such a particular time has been fixed for that purpose.

It is interesting to note that Kaulīnya guna was known to the Bhaṭṭas as some of them were regarded as 'kulīna'.⁶⁹ That there were divisions of gotra and pravara among the Bhaṭṭas and Medapātas is proved by the following lines of the ms.

śrī-bhaṭṭa-medapātānām caturvīṃśati-gotrinām /
gotresu pratigotrasthāḥ pravārā vyaktito hi te //
f. 202a.

syur-bhata-medapātānām caturvīṃśati-gotrinām
f. 203a.

caturvīṃśati-bhaṭṭādī-medapātadvijān-śesah f. 191b.

It throws a flood of light on the 24 main gotras⁷⁰ (cf. 'caturvīṃśati-gotrebhyaś-caturvīṃśati-gotrinām f. 34a), the number of which at one period exceeded at least 2300.⁷¹ Among the twentyfour gotras which have been specifically mentioned by the writer, the following 18 are well known to all and require no further introduction. These are as follows:

⁶⁷ Bhaṭṭahara-carita,

tato maṇḍapa-vedīṣu navagraha-samarcaḥ /
gṛha-vāḍitra-nirghoṣaiḥ kṛta-maṅgala-vistaraiḥ //
yathā gṛhyokta vidhinā pūjayed varadeśvaram /
lalāma-vāso' laṃkāraiḥ pūga tāmbūla gandhibhūḥ /
brahmādikān brāhmaṇāṃś-ācāryam . // f. 44b

⁶⁸ Ibid., madhyāhne bhojayed viprān f. 47a

⁶⁹ Ibid.,

medapātottara bhaṭṭaiḥ brahmaṇya-vidhu vedhasaiḥ /
sampradāyānusāreṇa kulīna-sthūṭayo' bhavan // f. 34b

⁷⁰ See *ibid.*, fols. 34a — 37b

⁷¹ For the number of gotras see P. Chentaisrao, *Principles of Pravara and Gotra*, the index of gotras.

1. Ātreya, 2. Parāśara, 3. Kātyāyana, 4. Garga, 5. Śāṇḍilya, 6. Kauśika, 7. Vatsa, 8. Vātsya, 9. Bharadvāja, 10. Gargya, 11. Gautama, 12. Kāśyapa, 13. Māṇḍavya, 14. Kaundinya, 15. Atri, 16. Gālava, 17. Bhārgava, 18. Upamanyu. The following five names appear to be wrong. They are according to the text 1. Kuśaka, 2. Muhila, 3. Viṣṇu-
vardhana, 4. Maunasa and 5. Rādhau. But as the ms. is full of gross mistakes, we should do justice if we take for these the following five respectively which are mentioned in the book named *Principles of Pravara and Gotra*.⁷² They are 1. Kuśika,⁷³ 2. Mudgala,⁷⁴ 3. Viṣṇuvṛddhi,⁷⁵ or Viṣṇuvṛddha,⁷⁶ 4. Mautsya,⁷⁷ 5. Rādhavi.⁷⁸ It is a pity that an authoritative work like *Principles of Pravara and Gotra* does not contain the last gotra, viz., Candrātreyā. It can be safely concluded that there was a gotra of this name, as we know that the Candellas of historic fame belonged to this Candrātreyā gotra.⁷⁹

¹² See fn. 71.

⁷³ See *Principles of Pravara and Gotra* pp 86, 89 139, 170

⁷⁴ *Ibid* pp 63, 81, 166 168

⁷⁵ *Ibid* p 68

⁷⁰ *Ibid* pp 61, 63, 166

⁷⁷ *Ibid* p 165

¹⁸ *Ibid* p 139

⁷⁹ Cf. *jayaty-āhlādayan viśvam viśveśvara śirodhṛtaḥ /*
candrātṛeya narendranam vamsās-candra ivojyvalaḥ //
Somra Plates of Paramardideva, Ep Ind., vol IV p 157
candrātṛeya-gotradvī Jahulaputradvī Manorathasya
padardham Ep Ind., vol IV p 160
candrātṛeya gotradvī Somadevaputrapam Malhukarya
padam-ekam Ep Ind., vol IV p 162 etc etc

SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTERS OF THE BHATTAHARA-CARITA

The first chap mainly deals with high glorifications of Śiva by His devoted attendant Nandi after giving information about the contents of the Bhumi khanda of the *Padma p*

The second chap also deals with the glorification of Ekalinga by Vasuki and Narada Śiva granted boon to Vāsuki as He was pleased by his austere penance

The third chap contains some information about the Medapāta tribe and it is also concerned with their Smṛti rites to some extent The Medapatas' connection with the influence of Śiva has repeatedly been mentioned

In the very beginning of the fourth chap the sage Śaunaka asks Sūta to tell him all about the gotras, and Sūta replies accordingly The names of twentyfour gotras of the Bhatas and the Medapātas have been given It has also been observed that attention to these glorifications of gotras makes one get the benefit of the result obtained by bath in the Ganges or such other pious acts The Kaulīya guna is ascribed to the Medapatas Vedādhyayana, Sadacāra and other such qualifications make one highly elevated

The fifth chap goes on describing the detailed celebrations of the marriage ceremony of the Medapatas

The name of the sixth chap is Sadhārana kula dharma nirupana This and the seventh chaps are mainly concerned with the genealogical list of the different gotras

The eighth chap is concerned with Rudra mahatmya and confirms the connection of the Medapatas with the blessing of Śiva

The ninth chap deals with many important things It ascribes an elevated place to the goddess Vindhya vāsini who exists in Dhundhiksetra Some place has been given to the goddess Kātyayani The names and ceremonial functions of some festivals and vratas (i e , Naga pñcamī, Śivaratri etc) to be observed by the Bhatas and Medapātas have been given

The tenth chap primarily deals with the characteristics of the highest family, i e , Śrestha kula laksana

The eleventh chap lays down thirteen samskāras the Hindus and remarks that one who does not perform accordance with the prescriptions of Śāstras, becomes a *ṭiya*, i e, out caste

The subject-matter of the twelfth chap will be understood from the colophon which is as follows 'iti śrī-padma-purāṇe pātāla-khande bhattahara caritre sūdranik-śilpa-nirūpane dvādaśo'dhyāyah', i e, in connection with the determination of the craftsmanship of merchants and Sūdras, here ends the twelfth chap of the Bhattahara-carita belonging to the pātāla-khanda of the *Padma p*

The thirteenth chap eulogises Ekalinga by mentioning that even Kaśyapa worshipped Ekalinga. Even the ancestors of the Bhatas and the Medapātas were devoted worshippers of Ekalinga

The fourteenth chap is more or less a Māhātmya of Bhattapura, the abode of the Medapātas who were always protected by Śiva. These glorifications have been spoken even by Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara

The fifteenth chap gives a list of the most sacred places and refers to a good number of deities (i e, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, Dhundhipati, Kūtyāyani, Vindhya-āsini besides Śiva) to be respected by the Medapātas. We come to know from this chap that the Medapātas were conversant with vratas

In the sixteenth chap the story of the five Pandavas has been introduced all on a sudden and the names of Rāma, Ravana and Devakī nandana have frequently been mentioned

The subject matter of the seventeenth chap may be broadly divided into two parts. The first part deals with the glorification of Devakī nandana, and the second part to some extent, with the duties of kings

The detailed description of the duties of the kings is contained in the eighteenth chap also where for the first time influence of Yoga (i e, kumbhaka, recaka f 152a) can be traced

The nineteenth chap contains the well-known story

of the serpent sacrifice of Janamejaya on account of his wrath created by the death of his father Parikṣit caused by Taksaka. This story includes the narrative of the test of power between Taksaka and Dhanvantari, the healer.

The twentieth chap contains the latter part of the story. It narrates how Parikṣit faced his end caused by Taksaka who himself had entered a fruit which was presented to the king.

The story of the battle of supremacy between Taksaka and Dhanvantari has twice been repeated in the twenty-first chap which brings this *Mbh* story to an apparent end.

The twentysecond chap mainly deals with the identification of Medapātas, i.e., the city of the Medapāta. The names of its surrounding hills have been mentioned. But the so-called main theme, i.e., the *Mbh* story has not been forgotten. Its colophon is as follows —‘iti śrī-padma-purāṇe pātāla-khande matrvākyaṃ nāma dvāviṃśo’dhyāyah’.

The twentythird chap primarily deals with the revival of nāgakula by Āstika. A grand glorification of Āstika has also been made.

In the twentyfourth chap Sūta being asked by the sage Śaunaka, narrated at length the details about jñāti and jāti, particularly gotras and pravaraṣ.

The twentyfifth chap, i.e., the last chap, also contains a list of the gotras which have been already stated elsewhere. Its information is centered round the twenty-four gotras—their identification with modern gotras and their implications. The last colophon may be quoted here ‘iti śrī-padma purāṇe pātāla-khande bhaṭṭahara caritre caturvidha-purusārtha-prasaṃgata-nirupane pañca viṃśa-titamo’dhyāyah’ (f. 206a).

(2) VAIDYANĀTHA-LINGA-MĀHĀTMYA

This work consists of eight chaps and in all chap-colophons it claims to belong to the Pātāla-khanda of the *Padma-p*⁸⁰ This claim, however, has no value as neither in the Devanāgarī recension of the Pātāla-khanda nor in the Bengal counterpart of it there are any such chaps as may correspond to those of the ms. Thus the spuriousness of its character is easily detected.

From its title it appears that the work deals with the glorification of Vaidyanatha—an emblem of Śiva. It begins with a salutation to the Lord Vaidyanatha in the following way

ānanda pūrṇa hrdayaḥ sadṛyaḥ sarva-jantusu /
vaidyanatho jagad vandyo mayy-astu kila daksinaḥ / /
pura devendra-darpasya-dalako ravano'surāḥ /
yam ārādhyā vimukto'bhūt tam namāmi mahēśvaram / /⁸¹

It then eulogises Vaidyanātha, and by way of describing how that particular phallus came to be in Vaidyanātha, a famous place in Bihar, it narrates a story which runs as follows

Once upon a time Ravana practised penance for long. Mahādeva, being pleased, appeared before him in person and advised him to proceed to Kailasa, his abode, and worship him there. Ravana did accordingly. Meanwhile Indra being afraid because of his prowess, approached Brahma with the other gods in his train and prayed to dissuade Ravana. But Brahmā dismissed his prayer and said, 'If you adopt the attitude of jealousy towards others you will be turned into a village boar'⁸² He then told him the story of a brahmin who had a similar fate. Indra came to the earth and actually saw that boar who told him that he was a noble brahmin.

⁸⁰ Va dyana ha l nga mahatmya itu śrī padma puraṇe pātāla khaṇḍe śrī vaidya natha linga mahātmye prathamo'dhyāyaḥ f 5b

itu

dvitīyo dhyāyaḥ f 10a

itu

ṭṭīyo dhyāyaḥ f 14b etc etc

⁸¹ Ib d f 1

⁸² Ib d para drohasya kārṇāḍ bhaved vai grāma-śukarāḥ f 4a

adept in various branches of learning but turned into a village-boar for disrespecting a brahmin who was of the opinion that without salutation to the 'lord of gaurī', i.e., Śiva, learning meant nothing. After he had appeased the wrath of Śiva by so doing, he was changed again into a divine being and went in a celestial car to the abode of Mahādeva. He advised Indra not to dissuade Rāvana but to see the fun, as Rāvana would be doomed while trying to remove the Kailāsa mountain. Now it so happened that Rāvana used his energy to uproot the Kailāsa mountain and take the same to his own kingdom. But his efforts were resisted by Mahādeva who pressed the mountain with the thumb of his right foot. Rāvana prayed to him and the latter agreed to go with him to Laṅkā on condition that Rāvana carried the Liṅga in his own hands. Mahādeva warned Rāvana saying that if the Linga were placed anywhere on the ground between Himālaya and Laṅkā he would settle there and would not move again. Rāvana agreed. *In case Rāvana settled Śiva in Laṅkā, such a step would mean danger to the gods who apprehending such an eventuality approached Visnu and after having propitiated him with prayer, requested him to prevent Rāvana from taking the Liṅga to Laṅkā.* Visnu then assumed the shape of an old brahmin and met Rāvana on the way. At that time Rāvana in order to respond to the call of nature requested him to hold the Liṅga only for two dandas. He agreed and seeing Rāvana not returning within the scheduled time, placed that Linga on the ground. As soon as it touched the ground there arose a tumultuous uproar and many wonderful portents were seen. The Linga went inside the ground by twelve aṅgulis and thenceforth the place was regarded as highly sacred and sanctified.

It has been stated that one Guhyaka and also his lord Kuvera worshipped this Vaidyanātha and attained meritorious results thereby. Hearing the description of that place from Hanūmān, Guhyaka started for the place and arriving there actually found the Liṅga as described by Hanūmān. There he requested the messenger of Śiva to tell him the way

of worshipping the Linga. The latter related accordingly and Guhyaka began to glorify the Linga. Then quite accidentally Kuvera arrived and offered his worship to that Linga. There among others, Śiva has been called 'kāmākhyā pitha samsthaya' (f. 28a). Being pleased by the 'Kuvera-stava', Śiva showed His 'Viśvarūpa' to him.⁸³ Mahādeva (i.e., Śiva) then ordered Kuvera to proceed to Ayodhyā and meet Rāma.

The worship and glorification of Śiva has been performed even by Viṣṇu. In the fifth chap. it has explicitly been mentioned that once Viṣṇu came and worshipped that phallus of Śiva according to the rites. Śiva admitted that Rāvana was dear to him as Prahlāda was to Viṣṇu and related by the way how Gaurī, afraid to hear of Rāvana's attempt to remove the Kūlasa mountain, had gone to her father's house. Moreover, it has been said that once Viṣṇu planted the Linga of Mahādeva with his own hands and by the side of that Linga, Rāvana excavated the well Candrakūpa by name.

The name of Narada as a devoted Śaiva attracts our attention. Narada is generally seen as the greatest devotee of Viṣṇu, but here it has been stated that once Narada approached Rāvana and rebuked him for his devotion to Mahādeva, but at the latter's advice Narada himself adored and saluted Lord Mahādeva who advised him in person to fetch water from the holiest place of Rameśvara far away in the south. Narada did accordingly.

But it is interesting to note that although the work primarily deals with Vaidyanātha Linga, Kāśī the foremost of the Śaiva sacred places has not been lost sight of, and it is seen that Mahādeva introduces a story in order to glorify that place. The story may briefly be put in the following way.

There was a pious brahmin in Kāśī whose wife after giving birth to a male child expired.⁸⁴ When the child grew up he became a notorious rogue. He was turned out of

⁸³ This naturally reminds us of the famous Viśvarūpa-darśana of *Śrīmad bhagavad gītā*. It corresponds to that of the *Gā* very much. In this state Mahādeva has been described as very fierce-looking, covered with elephant-skin and garlanded with heads (gaja-carmāvṛto muṇḍamāla yukta v bhuṣanaḥ f. 28b).

⁸⁴ gaṇḍa roga bl avatvena prāṇāḥ pañcatvam āgatāḥ f. 29b.

Kāsi by the people on account of his wickedness. He roamed here and there and as fate would have it, after reaching a village of the Candālas, died near the carcass of a boar. His dead body was carried away by the Candālas to the outskirts of the village. There by chance a Tāraka japaka (one who was reciting the name of Śiva in religious meditation) was passing and his feet accidentally touched the corpse and he was taken to heaven as all his sins had been removed by the touch of the feet of a devoted person.

The name of the twelve famous Lingas appears in the last chap. It remarks that there are a good deal of Lingas but the following twelve acquire a high place.

(1) Visvesvara (2) Kedāresvara (3) Śrīśaila (4) Bhima-śaṅkara (5) Omkāresvara (6) Mahakalesvara (7) Somanātha (8) Vaidyanathesvara (9) Naganatha (10) Śaivālesvara (11) Tryambakesvara and (12) Rāmesvara.

The materials necessary for Śiva's worship have also been duly eulogised. Being asked by Ravana, Mahadeva goes on glorifying the golden leaves of the Bilva tree. It has been so stated that a demon named Malura was changed into the Bilva tree. Mahadeva himself praises the Bilva tree.

A detailed description of the procedures of Śiva pūja has been given. It has been narrated by Śiva himself at the request of Ravana. The followings are necessary in connection with the worship of Śiva.

Surya pūjā, dvāra pūja, padma dana, arghya, karpūra, candanādi, madhuparka, pāduka, dugdha, ghrta, puspa, madhu, iksurasa, vastra, uttariya, upavita (accompanied by Śiva and Gauri), gandha originated from Malaya mountain, tila, aksata, svarna, trisula, bilvapatra, dhustūra-puspa, dhūpa, dīpa, śalya anna sameta naivedya, jala, chatra, vyajana, lavanga, tambula, camara, darpana, patakā and śayya.

According to Hanūman the place which is sanctified by the presence of the famous Linga of Śrī vaidyanatha should be regarded as the Pīthasthāna par excellence and there the golden Bilva tree is also highly sacred.⁸⁵ In this connection

⁸⁵ See f 23b

the story of a pious Vaiśya has been narrated. He was a whole-hearted devotee of Śrī-vaidyanātha, and by the merit of his attained to the region of Śiva to which he was carried by a celestial car.

The staunch upholders of Śaivism have gone so far as to bring Rāma and have words of praise for Śiva put into his lips. It has been said that Rāma comes up to offer his worship to Śrī-vaidyanātha with Kuvera in the aerial chariot. Rāma highly glorifies Śiva who in reply admits that there exists an 'Upāśya-upāsaka-bhāva' between them.⁸⁶

The influence of Devī-worship is also visible. It has been said that Rāvana installed on the two sides of Mahādeva the deities of Gaurī and Gāyatrī when Visnu cut Satī's body into 52 pieces. The description of some of the Devī-pīthas of which Kāmākhyā occupies the first place,⁸⁷ also reveals the same influence.

An inconsistency of facts, and a sudden introduction of persons without any previous intimation⁸⁸ tend to suggest a multiple authorship. These and the influence of Tāntric-Śaivas point to a late date although it must be admitted that it is very difficult to ascertain correctly the date of the work as it does not suggest anything. Likewise, the materials are too insignificant to determine its provenance.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Ibid , upāsakopāśya bhāvo vartate hy-ubhayor-apī f 40 a.

⁸⁷ Ibid , satyā-tu yonī pātena kāmākhyā pīṭham-uttamam. It is interesting to note that once Śiva has been called kāmākhyā pīṭha-saṁsthā cf f 28a.

⁸⁸ e.g. the arrival of Viṣṇu (when he comes to eulogise and worship Śiva) is not coherent.

⁸⁹ Our study of this work is based on singular ms named Vaidyanātha līnga-māhātmya, belonging to the Asiatic Society (Calcutta) no G 1451

(3) KĀLIÑJARA-MĀHĀTMYA

This work⁹⁰ also claims to belong to the Pātāla-khanda of the *Padma-p.*,⁹¹ but on an analysis we find that none of its chaps. resembles any portion of the present Pātāla-khanda in both the recensions. In fact there does not exist any semblance between the two and in the whole of the Pātāla-khanda there is no scope for an inclusion of this work.

This also is a Śaiva work and not immune from the influence of the Tāntric ideal of Śakti worship here and there. Śakti advocated in this work is to be regarded as the Śakti of Śiva, i e., the female aspect of Śiva and not the Vaisnavī or Brāhmī Śakti.

Kālīñjara is Mahādeva himself in the form of mountain (śailarūpī mahādevah). Its power to remove sin is so great that a man can be purged of grievous sins resulting from the killing of a brahmin by its mere touch or even by a glimpse of it.⁹² The mountain Kālīñjara is said to have been worshipped by the Rsis, Devatās, Yaksas, Kimnaras, Gandharvas and Apsarases. Hitherto unknown Raviksetra, a place near this mountain has also been glorified. Even waters of this sacred place can cure the diseases of head, eye, ringworm, kusta etc.⁹³

The greatness of this mountain has further been established by a peculiar story. It has been said that once upon a time the king of Kāśī had a beautiful queen Madālasī by

⁹⁰ The present analysis of this work is based on the first hand study of the two mss. of the same name, i e., Kālīñjara māhātmya both belonging to the Asiatic Society (Calcutta) numbering G 10109 and G 1661 respectively. We refer to these mss. by A and B respectively. It should be noted that we have practically followed A, the quotations being taken from it and except where there is a special mention of B, A is to be taken into consideration.

⁹¹ Cf. The different colophons of the work, e g., *ibid*, *iii śrī padma purāṇa pātāla-khaṇḍe umā māheśvaraḥ prathamodhyāyaḥ f. 5a*

ii śrī padma purāṇa pātāla khaṇḍe . upala-giri māhātmye dvitīyodhyāyaḥ f. 7a

iii śrī padma purāṇe pātāla khaṇḍe tṛtīyodhyāyaḥ f. 9b (H. P. Shastri wrongly notices that the 3rd chap. ends in f. 8b) etc. etc.

⁹² *Ibid*, *darīṇāt sparsanāc-caiva brah mahatyā vyapohati f. 3b.*

⁹³ *Ibid*,

śiroroga-netraroga-sarva vyādhi-vināśanam /

dadru kuṣṭhādikīṣṇī-caiva sarva rogaṇ vināśayet / f. 9a.

name The king himself was an ardent Śaiva Once he touched the breast of Gunakeśi, another maiden thinking her to be his wife and thereby incurred a transgression Now after realising his grave mistake, he became eager to make atonement for that He called for Sutiḥsna—a scholar well versed in Vedic lore, who advised him to go to Kalinjara He then spoke highly of the glories of that mountain Following his advice, the king went to that mountain and was expiated of all his sins

We have already observed that in this work evidences of Śakti influence are not rare Our contention can easily be proved by showing that at one place Kālī, the female aspect of Mahadeva is said to have been the promoter of all learning, an attribute which is generally given to Sarasvatī It has been expressly stated that there in the vicinity of the Kalinjara mountain worship should be offered to Camunda⁹⁴ The fourth chap although dealing with several names of Śiva still includes some names of the Bhairavis who are to be worshipped in different directions

The water of some of the lakes has also been eulogised by Śiva himself The tradition goes that those hradas' were sanctified by the touch of the feet of Rama Laksmana and Sita

It will not be very difficult to identify the mountain named Kalinjara from the information it gives Incidentally it may be mentioned that H P Shastri has tried to identify this mountain with a hill of the same name in Bundelkhand, but his suggestions may be wrong The ms says

kalinjarottare bhage trivenī nama tirthakah⁹⁵ and it is said to have been situated on the right side of the Ganges (gangayah daksine bhage)⁹⁶ Thus it is clear, that some place near Allahabad is intended

⁹⁴ Ib d' *śakra pūjā prakartavyā śaṅkṣa munda vighāṭi f 15a*

⁹⁵ Ib d' f 4a But this reference is not found in B

⁹⁶ Ib d' f 1b of B A does not retain this vs The difference between the two mss viz A and B becomes more prominent when we observe that in the first chap of B a short descr p on of the churning of ocean is given but no such statement is found contained to be in A Moreover the sudden appearance of Mārkaṇḍeya in B is conspicuous by its absence in A

It appears from the analysis of the second chap. that the writer is very fond of the seven sacred places, viz., Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Māyā, Kāśī, Kāñcī, Avantī and Purī. These seven are producers of salvation according to him.

(4) HOLIKĀ-MĀHĀTMYA

The work is comparatively small in size and is complete in six chaps. only, the chaps. also being not very large.

It is to be noted that like others this work also claims to belong to the Pātāla-khanda of the *Padma-p.*⁸⁷, but on an analysis of its subject-matter we find that it deals with such ideas and stories as should not have found place in the Pātāla-khanda which in fact does not contain them. The following analysis of its contents will show that this claim is not based on facts.

In the first chap., the Holī festival has been highly eulogised. It says that offerings should be given to Devī, the female entity.⁸⁸ It lays down several customs for worshipping the goddess and prays so that a devotee of Her may always be kept close to Her and She may remain pleased with him always.⁸⁹ In order to stamp the influence of Devī Holā, it records the story of a king named Kolo who ruled in the Nairrta (south-western) direction in ancient days.

The beginning of the second chap. contains Vīrasena's 'stava' to goddess Holā who being hostile to him devastated his large army. Vīrasena himself while waging war against the goddess was killed in a fight which has been described in detail. Then it goes on describing the grandeur of the fight between the Devī Holā and the Great Asura. This time too she came out victorious and the whole world became grateful to Her. The Devī then narrates the different sizes of Līnga, i e, the male counterpart of Her.

The third chap. deals mainly with the story of a fictitious war between the goddess Holikā and the lord of the gods, i e, Indra. Indra, ultimately defeated, seeks the help of the Devī.

The fourth and fifth chaps. deal purely with the

⁸⁷ See the colophons of all the chaps, viz, 11a śrī padma purāṇe pātāla-khaṇḍe holika mahātmye prathamo'dhyāyaḥ f. 5a. See also f. 9b, 13b-14a, 19a, 21a and 26b for colophons of other five chaps.

⁸⁸ Holikā mahātmya, namo devyādibhir mantraiḥ pūjayet susamāhitaḥ f. 2a

⁸⁹ Ibid, sānnidhyaṃ kuru devī tvam prasannā bhava sarvadā f. 2a

glorifications of that goddess. In the former it is stated that she has been worshipped by various names and in the latter some Śaiva śaktis, e.g., Kālī, Candī, Māheśvarī have been invoked.¹⁰⁰

The name of the last chap. is 'granting of boons'.¹⁰¹ It would not be out of place here to point out the Śaiva characteristic of this work. Holī, a present day name for the 'vasanta utsava' of the ancient days, is essentially connected, so far as it is now practised, with the worship of Kṛṣṇa or Rādhākṛṣṇa in particular. A reference to the Holī as a Śaiva festival is seldom found. Its Vaiṣṇava characteristic is so famous that it has been regarded almost as the greatest festival of the Vaiṣṇavas who observe this day as a day of joy and celebration.

But here we find the festival has been deified and the stamp of Śaiva influence has been affixed to it. The goddess here has been made more or less a female entity of Śiva showing thereby the blending of the Śaivas and Śaiva-śaktas.

It would be not a very hard task to say something about its provenance. The author shows an unnecessary zeal for the country named Kalinga. Much has been said about a country named Kalinga¹⁰² and the king of the Kalinga country.¹⁰³ The references to these are quite out of place and have no direct bearing on the subject matter proper. From this it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the work may have been composed somewhere in Kalinga, i.e., modern Orissa.

¹⁰⁰ Ib. d. kalī caṇḍī maheśvarī f. 23a.

¹⁰¹ Ib. d. ita śrī padma purāṇe pātāla khaṇḍe holī kā māhātmye vara pradānam nāma śaṣṭho dhyāyaḥ f. 26b.

¹⁰² Ibid. vivāha kāmā kalinga-nagare gatā f. 14b.

¹⁰³ Ibid. kalingādhipateḥ rājāḥ f. 14b.

(5) VEDA-SĀRA-SAHASRA-NĀMA-STOTRA

Unlike the other treatises which are generally associated with a particular place, this Māhātmya can claim its command over a vast territory. This is proved by a number of commentaries which are available on this treatise. We are not aware of any other Māhātmya claiming to belong to any part of the *Padma-p* which possesses commentaries. In this sense it should be regarded as unique.

The very mode of the beginning of this treatise leads one to believe that this is a work of the Śaivas. The ms.¹⁰⁴ begins with śrī-gaṇeśāya namaḥ and om namaḥ śivāya. We know from the beginning that once all the great sages headed by Mārkaṇḍeya arrived at Dvārakā to hear from Vyāsa the glorifications of Śiva as narrated by Viṣṇu. There, at first all the sages worshipped Śiva in a befitting manner.¹⁰⁵ Thus one can be sure that it deals with nothing else but the glorifications of Śiva—the primeval god in highly eulogistic terms.

The only importance of this treatise lies in the fact that it describes very vividly some iconographic features of Śiva—the Lord. These iconographic characteristics are of importance so far as they introduce some hitherto unknown specimens of Śaiva images. Mention may be made, e.g., of the term ghantā-hastāya (cf. *Matsya-p*) etc. These iconographic features of Śiva generally are not found in the iconographic texts and seldom such images of Śiva holding a bell (ghantā) in his hand are seen. We quote below some of the interesting iconographic features of Mahādeva as presented by this unique ms.

The Dhyānamantra of Śiva according to the ms. is as follows.

kulāsādrī-nibhaṃ śaśāṅka-kalāyā sphuruj-jatā-maṇḍalaṃ
nāsālokana-tatparam trīnayanam vīrāṣṇādhyāsitam /

¹⁰⁴ See the ms. no. G. 11076 belonging to the Asiatic Society (Calcutta).

¹⁰⁵ Veda-sāra-sahasra-nāma-stotra

śiva-pūjām tataḥ kṛtvā gandha-puṣpāṅgaśāntidib /
jajāṇa śiva-sahasraṃ bhuktu muktā-pradān vibho // 2. 1b.

mudrātanka subhāṅga jīnuvalasād vāhuṃ

prasaṁnīnānāṁ

katvābaddha bhujai gamanā munivṛtāṁ bande mahatām

param / 1st

(Translation—Śiva appears like the Kailāsa mountain, his matted locks glittering by the moonbeam his three eyes focussed at the direction of the nose. He has adopted the Viriṭāṇa posture, the position of his arms being remarkable. His arms hang down to the knee, he has a pleasant face and his waist is circumambulated by the snakes. He is surrounded by a host of the sages. To such God of gods, the primeval being salute is offered)

Some other peculiarities are mentioned below
 naraupha mahādarpa ghātine¹⁰⁰ varuḍibhaya haṁḍya
 ghaṇṭīhaṁḍivāte namah¹⁰¹ varuḍa bhedine tubhaya kaṇṭāla
 dhāṁne-namah¹⁰² namo hiraṇyagarbhāya namo hiraṇya

kamas-tu juhuyāt tilaktena) and one desirous of having a long span of life should sacrifice with ghee and honey (āyus kāmas tu juhuyād-ājyena madhunā tathā)¹¹²

With all these characteristics it is evident that the staunch upholders of Śaivism wanted to attract the attention of the people in general and tried to persuade them to adopt Śaivism by showing this picture of all-powerful Śiva and by presenting to them Śiva's immense power of granting boon to His devotees. They eulogised Śiva so far that they did not hesitate to imitate and take the help of the Vedic mantra. Once, for example, Śiva is praised in the following way

tatpurusāya vidmahe mahādevāya dhīmahi tan-no
rudrah pracodayāt¹¹³

or

namo hiranya vāhave hiranya-varnaya hiranya-rūpāya¹¹⁴
etc etc. In their eagerness to propagate the sectarian doctrines they went so far as to bring down Visnu and his followers who were their strongest challengers to a very much lower sphere and compelled Visnu to speak highly of Śiva.

The name of this treatise is sufficient enough to prove the anxiety of the champions of Śaivism who were greatly anxious to push their own sect and creed to the very highest degree of predominance. There are reasons to believe that originally the name of this work was Śiva sahasra nāma-stotra and not Veda-sāra-sahasra-nāma stotra¹¹⁵. Later on the name was changed into the latter form. Perhaps by changing its name they wanted to emphasise its importance—as the essence of the Vedas—and thereby tried to

¹¹² For these references see ib d f 12a

¹¹³ Ibid f 4a cf *Maitrayani Samhita* (2 1x 1) *Kaṭhaka Samhita* (17 11) *Taittīyī Aranyaka* (10 1 5)

¹¹⁴ Ibid, f 3b

¹¹⁵ See c g, the old colophon (it is now cut) which reads as follows: *iti padma purāṇe uttara khaṇḍe śaṅkara samhitayām śrī kṛṣṇa mārkaṇḍeya-samvade vedasarakhyam parama-divyam śrī ś va-sahasra nāma-stotram sampūrṇam*. The present colophon, however (which has evidently been written and added later) runs as follows: *iti śrī padma purāṇe pañcapāñcāśat sāhasrikāyam samhitāyām uttara bhage bṛhakeśvara mātāmnye śrī kṛṣṇa mārkaṇḍeya vyasādi samvade veda-sāra-sahasra-nāmaikona navati tamo dhyayaḥ*

enforce the people to read this Māhātmya with care and attention.

This work claims to be a part of the Śamkara-samhitā of the Uttara-khanda of the *Padma-p.*

But its claim has got no value as we do not know any part of the Uttara-khanda of the *Padma-p.* which is named Śamkara-samhitā. It is purely an independent work which claims to be a part of a great and widely read Purāna in order to popularise itself.

(6) VEDA-SĀRA-Sahasra NĀMA-ṬIKĀ

It appears from the name of this work¹¹⁶ that this is nothing but a commentary of the work named *veda-sāra-sahasra nāma* and indeed in the very beginning, the ms admits that it says 'veda-sāra-sahasraṣya vyākhyā samyag vīriyate'¹¹⁷

The sole importance of this treatise lies in depicting the glory of the thousand names of Śiva—how a man can attain salvation by muttering these thousand names of Śiva. It also states that for protection from the *piśācas* these thousand names should be taken¹¹⁸. The ms ends with the speech of Vyāsadeva to the sages who are told that they have learnt everything about the glorifications of thousand names which are the sure means to attain *mokṣa*. Then in the following lines Vyāsadeva states the object of reading this *Mūhātmya*

bhavadbhir ātma-śiṣyebhyo diyatām idam-ādarīt /
nāmnā sahasram etad dhi likhitam yaṁ nīketane / /
avimuktam tu tad-geham nityam tiṣṭhātī śampakarah /
anena mantritam bhīṣma khaḍga-duṣṭa-vināśanam / /
piśācasya vināśīya japtavyam-idam uttamam /
nāmnīm sahasrenānena samam kṛpcā na vidyate//¹¹⁹

This ms quotes various passages from some Upaniṣads and different Purāṇas (including the Upapurāṇas). A list of the names of these Purāṇas and others is given below

Ādi p f 9b

Āditya p f 14b, 22a, 21a, 30b, 31a 36b, 62a 81b

Itana saṁhita f 107b 111a, 115b 116a 123b 126a, 134a

Uttara rāmāyana f 38a

Kūrma p f 11b, 26a, 46b 99b

Kaivalyopaniṣat f 41a

Chandogyopaniṣat f 92a

Narasimha p f 88b

¹¹⁶ We have examined the ms *Veda-sāra sahasra nāma ṭikā* no G 8401 belonging to the Asiatic Society (Calcutta)

¹¹⁷ See *Veda-sāra sahasra nāma ṭikā* f 1b

¹¹⁸ 1b d *piśācasya v nāśīya japtavyam idam uttamam* f 144b

¹¹⁹ 1b d f 144b

Padma p f 6b, 26b, 28b, 49b, 63a, 67b, 69a, 78a, 99a, 123b, 134a

Parasariya p f 19b, 69b, 73b, 74a, 94a, 99b, 104b, 105b, 120a

Brahmagita f 66a, 103b, 142a

Brahmanda p f 8a, 26a, 34b, 38b, 49b, 51a, 58b, 83a, 88a, 93a, 95a, 107a, 107b, 109a, 110a, 110b, 111b, 114a, 122b, 134b

Brahma p f 77b

Bhavisyottara p (Nagara khanda) f 15a, 28b 79a, 123b

Brahmaravarta p f 115a, 119a

Linga p f 36b, 39b, 55b, 60a, 111a, 119a, 121b

Vasistha p f 5a, 5b

Viṣṇu p f 94a, 114a, 121a

Śiva p f 9b, 46a, 64b, 73a, 126b.

Śivagita f 12a, 47b, 59b, 66b, 105b, 115a, 118a, 118b

Śivadharmottara p f 81a, 82a

Śiva rahasya f 73a, 82a, 85a, 86a, 118b

Sutagita f 132

Saura saṃhita f 12a, 80b

Skanda p (Vāyaviya saṃhita) f 1b, 9b, 19b, 21a, 24a, 31a, 39a, 51a, 55a, (Śamkara saṃhita) f 52b, (Saura saṃhita) f 72b, 81b, 87a, 90a, 92b, 93b, 94a, 95a, 104a, 108b, 109b, 112a, 112b, 117a, 119a, 121a, 125a, 128a, 128b, 129a, 133a, 137a, 140a

Harivamsa f 73a

From these exhaustive quotations we can also be surely confirmed that it is after all a Śaiva work. Not to speak of the quotations from the Śaiva Purāṇas (which, however, form the major part of the quotations) like, *Śiva Skanda*, *Linga* etc. which often glorify Śiva-mahātmya, the passages taken from the other Purāṇas of the non Śaiva type also have been carefully selected as these also proclaim a thorough glorification of Śiva—the eternal deity, the depiction of His mode of worship, characteristics etc. Only the most important passages dealing with Śiva worship as found in non Śaiva Purāṇas have been quoted.

We are concerned here chiefly with the passages said to be quoted from the *Padma p*. All the passages (some of

them are not found in any of the editions of the present *Padma-p.*) deal with the glorifications of Śiva in highly eulogistic terms. Some of them describe the characteristic features of Mahādeva¹²⁰, some bear evidence that Rāma once established and worshipped a Śiva-liṅga on the sacred bank of the river Godāvarī¹²¹. In some passages obeisance has been made to Śiva¹²², in some others He has been regarded as the 'summum bonum' of all Hindu Philosophy.¹²³ His iconographic features also have not been neglected. Some of the characteristics of His appearance have been dealt with in a passage.¹²⁴ In one passage Śiva in a characteristic way has been made superior to the other two of the Trinity (e.g., Brahmā and Viṣṇu). In fact these two are said to have been sprung up from Śiva, an idea which does not coincide with our conventional attitude. But here Brahmā says clearly to Śiva 'Both Hari and I have grown up from you'¹²⁵.

¹²⁰ Ibid ,

śmaśānam ālaya-tasya bhikṣāvratī digambarah /
kapālāni ca māhyāni kapardō mukutaṃ tathā // f 49b

¹²¹ Ibid ,

atha rāmagirau rāmaḥ puṣye godāvarī tate /
śiva-liṅgaṃ pratiṣṭhāpya // f 52a

¹²² Ibid ,

śānāya namaḥ-tubhyaṃ trinetraya namo namaḥ /
dhyeyāya dhyāna rūpāya dhyāyayitre namo namaḥ // f 69a.
devadeva mahādeva jagat-kāraṇa-kāraṇa /
anādi madhya-nidhana namaḥ tubhyaṃ mahēśvara // f 123b

¹²³ Ibid ,

yaṃ dṛṣṭvā yogino nityaṃ saṃhṛjī ātma-sajjātam /
sadatac-chūnyam ākāraṃ paramātmānam īvaram // f 67b.

¹²⁴ Ibid ,

avasthāya mahādevaḥ prathamāramiṇo vapuḥ /
pragalbha bhāvam āsthāya tapovanam upāgamat //
āśāḍham ajunaṃ mauḍjīṃ kaupīnam upavītakam /
akṣamālāṃ jaṭām-ekāṃ bhasmaśhīraṃ ca dhārāyaṇ // f 106b
jamaḍagnir jvalad agniḥ kālāgnirudra rūpadhik /
jvalad-dāvāgni saṃnibham etc f 134a

¹²⁵ Ibid ,

dakṣiṇāṅga bhavo'ham te hariḥ-vāmāṅga-sambhavaḥ /
tato dakṣiṇa hasto haṃ vāma hasto hariḥ-tava // f 63a

(7) PUṢKARA-MĀHĀTMYA

This ms. needs scrutinising discussion as it throws light on the hitherto unknown division and part of the *Padma-p.* As we have referred to this matter in our first chap. (pp. 13-14), here we will rest satisfied only with pointing out that it is this ms. which throws out suggestion that broadly speaking there may be two divisions of the *Padma-p.*, the Prathama-khanda and the Dvitiya-khanda.¹²⁶ Whether this proposition is acceptable or otherwise, is not the question. What we intend to say is that as this ms. is known by another name, i.e., *Padma-purāṇa-samuccaya*¹²⁷ (collection of the *Padma-p.*) and as we shall see later on, this embodies in itself a considerable portion of the *Padma-p.*, the evidence of this may be taken to be the same as that of the *Padma-p.*; and hence its suggestion is worth considering. Moreover, it is interesting to note that it refers to the Parva divisions of the *Padma-p.*¹²⁸ We have remarked earlier that the Parva division of the *Padma-p.* was an earlier one in comparison with the Khanda division. Thus we find that the evidence of this ms. is not at all negligible.

A critical analysis of the ms. will show that the Śakti-worship predominates all through the work; and this śakti is no other than the Śiva-śakti. Thus it will not be unwise to conclude that it is the outcome of some over-zealous propagators of the Śakti-cult who, inspite of their knowing that Puṣkara was predominantly an original place for Brahmā-worshippers, utilised it with a view to popularising their sect, associating themselves with a place already regarded as divine and accepted as such by the mass. Its great devotion towards Māheśvarī-śakti can be shown from the following narrative.

In days of yore there lived a demon named Kuku who

¹²⁶ Puṣkara mĀhātmya, iii śrī-padma purāṇa samuccaye dvitīyakhāṇḍe ...
 oṣṭa-viṃśat tamo dhyāyāḥ f. 73b.

iii śrī-padma purāṇe dvitīya khāṇḍe f. 91a, also f. 91b.

¹²⁷ Ibid. f. 73b.

¹²⁸ Ibid., f. 92a.

by the strength of his arms had vanquished the host of the gods. The latter being defeated practised penance in the Nila mountain. They invoked *samhara karini raudri murti* who being pleased at heart vehemently attacked Kuku and at once devastated his army. Kuku by his 'maya' brought an untimely night, but her power was irresistible. She (*Śiva śakti*) with little effort on her part killed the demon at once. All the gods assembled together and eulogised her.¹²⁹

It reminds us of the story of *Śrī śrī cāṇḍī*, but without establishing a fundamental connection between the two it will be unwise to infer one's influence on the other. Moreover, the narrative mentioned above can in no way be said to be the same as that of *Śrī śrī cāṇḍī*.

The ms repeatedly narrates the triumphant activities of *Raudri śakti*. She is taken to be omnipresent and omnipotent. Through Her all knowledge of the world has originated. As a direct reference only two lines are quoted

esa jñānātṁikā śaktir veda vedāṅga gāminī /
*esa raudri ca vai śaktih śivādūtī vocyate /*¹³⁰

But as in the case of most of the similar treatises it also embodies glorifications of several other gods and goddesses. The compromising spirit among the different sects and sectaries which dominated the thoughts of the then noted Indians for a considerable period is also seen in this *Mahātmya*.

Although it is predominated by the *Śakti* worshippers as we have seen above invocation and worship or devotion to such gods as *Brahma*, *Viṣṇu* or *Āditya* is not conspicuous by its absence in it. The compromising spirit of the work can best be followed by the following simple narrative which we will see adheres to the worship of *Brahma* and *Āditya* at the same time.

Once a king on the eve of his *Aśvamedha* sacrifice went with his charioteer for a joy ride. There on his way, he came across a beautiful and heavenly lake. In the

¹²⁹ Ibid. f. 18a 19b

¹³⁰ Ibid. f. 20b.

(7) PUṢKARA-MĀHĀTMYA

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In days of yore there lived a demon named Kuku who

¹²⁶ Puskara mähātmya, iii śrī padma purāna samuccaye dvitiya khande
apta vimśatitamo'dhyāyaḥ f. 73b

iii śrī padma purāne dvitiya khaṇḍe f. 91a, also f. 91b

¹²⁷ Ibid., f. 73b

¹²⁸ Ibid., f. 93a

by the strength of his arms had vanquished the host of the gods. The latter being defeated practised penance in the Nīla mountain. They invoked 'saṃhāra-kārinī raudrī-mūrti' who being pleased at heart, vehemently attacked Kuku and at once devastated his army. Kuku by his 'māyā' brought an untimely night, but her power was irresistible. She (Śiva-śakti) with little effort on her part killed the demon at once. All the gods assembled together and eulogised her.¹²⁹

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esā jñānātmikā śaktir-veda-vedāṅga-gāminī /
esā raudrī ca vai śaktiḥ śivadūtī vocyate / ¹³⁰

But as in the case of most of the similar treatises, it also embodies glorifications of several other gods and goddesses. The compromising spirit among the different sects and sectaries which dominated the thoughts of the then noted Indians for a considerable period, is also seen in this Māhātmya.

Although it is predominated by the Śakti-worshippers as we have seen above, invocation and worship or devotion to such gods as Brahmā, Viṣṇu or Āditya is not conspicuous by its absence in it. The compromising spirit of the work can best be followed by the following simple narrative which, we will see, adheres to the worship of Brahmā and Āditya at the same time.

Once a king on the eve of his Aśvamedha sacrifice went with his charioteer for a joy-ride. There, on his way, he came across a beautiful and heavenly lake. In the

¹²⁹ Ibid, f. 18a 19b

¹³⁰ Ibid, f. 20b

middle of the lake, there was a nice large lotus. He being pleased with the sight of the lotus, ordered his charioteer to pluck that up. The charioteer did accordingly. But no sooner had he touched that flower, a loud uproar (*humkārah*) was heard in consequence of which the charioteer fell and died instantly. The king also became devoid of strength and pale and fell down on the ground being turned into a leper.¹³¹ He understood that he had himself committed a grave sin; hence, in order to get rid of such a pitiable condition he approached Vasistha who told him that that was a place of worship of Brahmā. This lotus had taken its growth from Brahmā Himself. Its very sight makes one attain the result of seeing other gods. There was an image of Brahmā in the midst of the water there. An image of the Sun-god was also found here. Vasistha also advised him to approach Lord Brahmā in Puskara and propitiate Him. The king did accordingly. In Puskara, he caused a jewelled image of the Sun-god to be built and worshipped Him with various rites and performances. At the end of his sacrifice, he went to heaven in the abode of the Sun-god.¹³²

To an intelligent interpreter the above-mentioned story has much narrative value. Among all other mss claiming to belong to the *Padma-p.* this is the only one which suggests the alliance of the sects of Brahmā and Sūrya. It is a well-known fact that from time immemorial Puskara is associated with the holy worship of Brahmā. We have already shown how the original portion of the *Padma-p.*, not a very small portion of which was associated with the glorification of Puskara, was the outcome of the efforts of the Brahmā-

¹³¹ Ibid., *kuṣṭhī vigata varṇaś-ca bala vīrya vivarjitaḥ* f 15a

¹³² The following lines may be compared in this connection

etad brahmodbhavaṃ nāma padmaṃ trailokya vīrutam /
 dṛṣṭamātreṇa cānena dṛṣṭāḥ syuḥ sarva-devatāḥ //
 eṇaṃ (brahmāṇaṃ) dṛṣtvā jale magnaṃ saṃsmaran vipramucyate /
 ādityaḥ padma-garte'smin pūrvam-eva vyavasthutaḥ /
 idānīm-eva taṃ devam-āradhaya mahāmate //
 vasistha vacanam śrutvā rājā puṣkaram-abhyagāt /
 ratnādityaṃ pratishṭhāpya ārādhyā vividhair vrataiḥ /
 jagāma paramam sthānaṃ yatra devo divākarah // f 15

worshippers. In the present day it is in Puskara only that the worship of Brahmā still goes on in perhaps the only temple of Brahmā in India. Thus it is obvious that Puskara has been controlled and influenced by the Brahmā-sect. But at the same time it would be rather unwise to deny that Puskara did never engage the attention of other rival sects or sectaries. In the Purāṇas a good number of references are not wanting which will show that from time to time the Vaisnavas or the Śaivas had tried to spread their influence on this famous sacred place of the Brahmāites. This trio came into conflict at some time regarding Puskara; but it was the Brahmāites who came out successful ultimately.

Although the Sun-worshippers (Sauras) did never rise into such prominence as the big three reached, still from the inclusion of the Sun-god in the Pañcāyatana pūjā, the conclusion becomes irresistible that a sect was formed by some people who took Sūrya as the supreme god

There was a difference in attitude between this sect and the three major sects. While these three were from time to time most friendly in their behaviour and only at times came into conflict, the Saura sects were never hostile to any other (Their attack on Mādhva sect stands as an exception Cf *Saura-p*) It is not difficult to understand from the above-mentioned narrative that this is the contribution of the Sun-worshippers. They like all others tried to associate themselves with the famous sacred place. But in doing so they have never for a moment even engaged themselves in denouncing Brahmā or the Brahmāites. Their duty was not to belittle the Brahmā-sects but to associate themselves with those sects. We are told that in that very lake where there was an image of Brahmā, an image of the Sun-god was also found. Hence it has been mentioned that the king sinned against Brahmā but was purged of all sins as he propitiated Divākara (i. e., Sun-god). These are sure evidences that the Saura sects far from trying to come into a clash with the Brahmāites, tried to develop a friendly attitude towards them.

The alliance between these two sects is shown by another interesting narrative. It describes the installation of an image

of the Sun-god on the right side of the image of Brahmā¹³³ by a king of Dvārāvātī, named Satrājīt who received the syamantaka manī from Sūrya. It is also reported that previously, the son of Rāvana (Indrajīt) had established the image in Lankā.

The ms. in its entire range is full of such sectarian affinities between the Sūrya-worshippers and Brahma-worshippers. From this, the above conclusion can easily be averred.

A few words should here be mentioned as regards its sociological standpoint. The Pārvatīya brahmins have been denounced in more places than one. They neither deserve to be invited in the Śrāddha ceremonies nor do they have the sanctity in administering these ceremonies.¹³⁴ Similarly the Northern or Southern brahmins do not enjoy a high position. It has been stated that those brahmins often commit such actions as are debarred by the Smṛti-authorities.¹³⁵ Does it betray the work's preference for the Western brahmins who live near Puskara?

¹³³ Ibid.,

pitāmahasya devasya digbhāge dakṣiṇe sthita /

śhapitā pratimā śrutvā sā vipraḥ tu pratiṣṭhātā // f. 75a

¹³⁴ Ibid., ye cānye pārvatīyāś-ca śrāddhe nārhanī kevalam f. 93b.

¹³⁵ Ibid., garhitā dharmā-śāstresu viprāś-ca dakṣiṇottaraḥ f. 93b

(8) KĀRTTIKA-MĀHĀTMYA

This work¹³⁶ has definitely come out of the pen of one or more Viṣṇu-worshippers. Here the sages are hearers and the speaker is Nārada who reports to the sages what Brahmā had said to him¹³⁷ in 'harer-ārādhānā-vidhi' and 'śrī-kṛṣṇa-rādhā-vrata'. Thus it is found that ultimately Brahma eulogises Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. Moreover, there is an episode which also praises and glorifies the gift of a lamp in a Viṣṇu-temple. It is as follows.

In ancient days, there was a king named Bhadradhī in the time of Rāivata Manu. He had a son named Sudarśana who was well versed in all the branches of learning. His capital was near the Mahendra mountain in the Narmadā region.¹³⁸ Once he went a hunting and met a maiden, the daughter of a king of Gauda who came there sporting with her attendants from her father's kingdom.¹³⁹ He married her and later on undertook the responsibility of kingship when his father retired. Once his wife, Madanālasā by name, was offering a lamp to the Viṣṇu-temple when her husband asked her to come immediately. But she said that she was then engaged in offering lamps and explained to her husband the glorification of dipadāna narrating the story of her previous birth in which she was a mouse and chanced to turn up the wick.

¹³⁶ Calcutta Sanskrit College ms. no. Puraṇa 12 (fol. 134). It consists of 13 chapters although the last chapter has been called dvadasodhyayaḥ. The post colophon (see f. 34b) reads samvat 1821 Māgha Kṛṣṇa 14 Va. Suryaḥ i.e. it was copied on Sunday in the dark fortnight (kṛṣṇa pakṣa) of the month of Māgha in samvat 1821 i.e. 1764 A.D. It further reads likhitaṁ sadārameṇedaṁ kaśyapā śubham astu. At the beginning there are four more folios which do not belong to this ms. These are the parts of some other ms. (It may for instance be mentioned here that the ms. of the Kārttika mātmya which we have examined in the Asiatic Society (Calcutta) does not claim to belong to the *Padma-p*. There are two mss. of the same—the first no. G. 5703 which claims to belong to the *Brahma-p* has the last colophon which reads thus iti śrī brahma puraṇe kārttika mātmye aṣṭaviṁśo dhyayaḥ and the other is the ms. no. G. 1058 which claims to belong to the Sanat kumāra saṁhitā. See Shastri Cat. vol. v pp. 192 and 287.)

¹³⁷ Kārttika mātmya nārada uvaca idam eva maya prṣṭo brahma loka pitāmahaḥ f. 1b

¹³⁸ 1b d rādhānī mahendra narmada tate f. 2a

¹³⁹ 1b d

gauḍarajaś-ca kapyas t tat suta sā varāṅganā /
sakhībhiḥ saha kṛdanti narmadā tiram agatā // f. 2a

of a mildly burning lamp placed by a sage in a Visnu-temple in Godāvarī ¹⁴⁰ It would appear that Visṇu-pūjā and dipadāna were not known in that territory of Sudarśana (i e., Narmadā region). Remembering that the system of the gift of lamps in shrines was current in South India, ¹⁴¹ in the Godāvarī territory in particular, can we hold that this episode hints at the prevalence of dipadāna in Bengal (Gauda) where it had been introduced from Godāvarī region, although the place of its origin did not encourage the wide-scale prevalence of it?

Its adherence to Visnu-worship is further proved by its amazing silence on other sectarian gods and goddesses. If 'argumentum ex silentio' is considered a primary factor that stands against such proposition, its abundant mention of the name of Rādhā and frequent reference to Rādhā-worship ¹⁴² corroborate the stamp of Vaisnava influence on it. How even a great devotee of Śiva failed to influence or coerce his wife, a lifelong worshipper of Visnu, to give up the Vaisnava dharma has been pointed out by the interesting episode of Jālamdhara and Vrndā who became in her next birth the Tulasī plant and always resided near Visnu (f. 4b). Moreover, ninefold devotion to Kṛṣṇa tends to show its Vaisnava influence. It has been said:

śravanam kīrtanam pūjā sarva-karmārpanam smṛtiḥ /
paricaryā namaskāraḥ prema cātmārpanam harau / /
ity-evam navadhā bhaktiḥ kṛṣṇe tat-prīṭaye'pi ca /
karaṇīyaṁ kim-asyāsti kṛtam niḥśreyasam tv-idaṁ / / f. 11a

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.,

astu godāvarī tīre harer āyatanaṁ śubham /
daṇḍakeṣu mahapūnyaṁ nānā muni nṛsevitaṁ / /
vedāvrato munuḥ kaś-cit tatrāgatyātha kārṭtike /
dīpaṁ prajvālayāmāsa . . . // f. 3a

¹⁴¹ For references to the practice of offering lamps to the temples see our second chap., i e., study of the Devanāgarī recension of the Brahma khaṇḍa p. 64, f. n. 17

¹⁴² Ibid., nāmo rādhakṛpā f. 9b

vṛṣabhānura-itu khyāto gopānando vṛjē vaset /
tasya kanyā varārohā rādhānāmni purā'bhavat / / f. 13b
rādhā mahā prema bhārā kule f. 13b
tataḥ priyatamā viṣṇoḥ rādhikā gopikāsu ca f. 13b.
rādhikā pratimāṁ kṛtvā pujaṇe kārṭtike tu yā /
tasya tuṣyati supṛitaḥ śrīmān dāmodaro hariḥ / / f. 13b
nṛtyati rādhikā tathā . f. 13b

Śālagrāma, a medium of worship of Viṣṇu has not only been referred to more than once, but a nice, interesting story on the origin of Śālagrāma has been told. According to this, Vedāśleṣhī (a sage), who was practising penance on the bank of the Gangā, cursed a heavenly damsel, sent by Indra to become a river (Gandakī) which would contain Śālagrāma stones. The river is considered more or less akin to those sacred places of India which are famous for their association with Kṛṣṇa worship. Dvārakā, Mathurā, Vṛndāvana are all sacred places of Kṛṣṇa-worship. It has been said that by the taking of Viṣṇu's name or even remembering it purges one of all sins. The festivals, e.g., Rādhāstamī, Gopāstamī etc. mentioned in the work are all Vaiṣṇava celebrations.

It is highly probable that this ms. has been originally conceived in Mathurā. The major portion of the third chapter describes the glorification of Mathurā¹⁴³ which has been introduced suddenly and is not related, in any way, to the subjects mentioned before. Vivid descriptions of Mathurā and its surrounding territories rule out the fact that it has not been written by a devoted admirer of Mathurā, residing in any other part of India.

It propounds in clear and unambiguous terms the Vaidika dharma. According to it 'what has been sanctioned by the Vedas is dharma and what has been denounced in them is adharmā'. Dharma is also substantially made up of good manners and customs prevalent at different times and places¹⁴⁴. Dharma, it has been further stated, is of two kinds, pravṛtti-mūlaka and nivṛtti-mūlaka, i.e., you do a good thing and acquire dharma and do not perform a sinful act, and thereby also dharma is acquired. Dayā has been suggested as the basis of dharma. Some acts which incur piety and

merit have been stated. These are 'annadāna', 'ekādaśi-vrata-vidhi', 'atithi-sevā', 'vāpī-kūpādi-khanana' and others. But above all of them stands the glory of the month of Kārttika which is itself the step to Visnu-loka. A brahmacārin lying on the floor, taking haviṣya (rice and clarified butter) as the only food on palāla leaves and worshipping Dāmodara in the month of Kārttika, attains Visnu-loka.¹⁴⁵ Kārttika has been regarded as dear to Kṛṣṇa, and it inspires attachment to Kṛṣṇa and is as efficacious as sacrifices, ascetic practices and gifts (yajña-tapo-dāna-phalam).

The tradition goes that the number of the everliving persons (cirajīvin) is seven, but the list in f. 18a includes Mārkaṇḍeya and makes it eight, e.g.,

mārkaṇḍeyo balir-vyāso hanūmāṁś-ca bibhīsanah /
kṛpo drauṇīś-ca paraśurāmo'stau cira-jīvinah / /

Among the social customs one interesting feature is that the wives leaving their beds in the morning would whirl round their heads a branch of the apāmārga plant (*Achyranthes aspera*).¹⁴⁶

From the colophons of seven chaps. thereof we know that this work claims to be a part of the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the *Padma-p*. But according to the eighth chap., it has been taken from the Pātāla-khaṇḍa. This divergence is immaterial as this is found neither in the Pātāla nor in the Uttara-khaṇḍa. Kārttika-māhātmya as contained in the latter is widely different from this work.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.,

kīrttuke bhūmu-dīpī yo brahmacāri haviṣya-bhuk /
palāla-patram bhuñjāno dāmodaram-athārcayet / / f. 2a.
śaḍcārīc-ca vyācayo deśakāla-vibhāgataḥ / / etc. f. 10b.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., f. 14b.

(9) KĀŚĪ-MĀHĀTMYA

This is the work¹⁴⁷ of the Śaivas who in order to establish the supremacy of their sect have openly denounced the Vaisnavas and the Brahmāites. At the very beginning Lomasa and other sages ask Bhrgu (who was seated comfortably on the bank of the Reva) to enlighten them who were mayā mugdha, i.e., led to a wrong track by illusion in the matter of achievement of salvation, after considering the rahasya of the Vedas. Bhrgu in reply introduces a story which glorifies Śiva. It is as follows.

Once each of Brahmā and Viṣṇu openly declared himself superior to the other¹⁴⁸. Brahmā challenged Viṣṇu and the latter accepted it. Soon they began to fight, when suddenly both of them were overpowered by a penetrating and powerful ray of light and Śiva appeared there. Both of them paid their respects to Śiva and requested Him to speak to them in glorification of His sacred places.

The sages assembled there, having been desirous to hear the glorifications of Kāśī, Bhrgu told them accordingly. In the Kṛta age there was a king named Bala vahana. He had a queen named Vibhāvarī. Being extremely effeminate, he lost his kingdom, which was taken charge of by his friends and enemies. Feeling helpless and insecure, he entered the Vindhya forest with his wife and after five days reached the hermitage of Salankayana. Then they travelled again and after some time both of them became very hungry. The queen referred to a 'gatha' sung by 'purana vido janah', i.e., people versed in Purana, viz.,

¹⁴⁷ Calcutta Sanskrit College ms. no. Purana 21 (fols. 1-44). Nāgarī script. It bears the date January 1825 written in English on the reverse of the first folio. The ms. contains two independent works: (i) Kāśī māhātmya—claiming to belong to the pātāla khaṇḍa of the *Padma p.* and (ii) Gaṅgā putra mahātmya of the *Skanda-p.* This entire ms. has been mentioned as Gaṅgā putra mahātmya in the handwritten list of ms.-cat. of the college as well as in Sastri and Guin's *Descriptive Catalogue*.

¹⁴⁸ Kāśī māhātmya brahmovāca
 ahaṃ bhūteśvaraḥ sākṣād bhavatāṃ kāraṇam param /
 sarvam-etaṃ mayā sṛṣṭam kiṃ māṃ no vetu tattvataḥ //
 nārāyaṇa uvāca
 aho avidyā māhātmyam
 tīvaraṃ māṃ na jānāti virāḍ-cir-mūḍha-dhīḥ punaḥ // f. 2b

āpadarthe dhanam raked daran raked dhanair api /
ātmanam satatam raked darair api dhanair api / /

and requested the king to kill her and satisfy himself with her flesh. The king did accordingly. When he was eating her flesh some lions came there. The king fled from there leaving the body of his wife behind. He met on the way four dvijas who were carrying nivāra, killed them with his sword and sat to feast upon their flesh. Finding their 'ajina' and 'upavita' he became repentant for committing brahmahatya. He returned to Salankāyana's hermitage. Salankayana advised him to go to Kāśī and offer prayer before Mahādeva. The king did accordingly and was purged of all sins.

There is another episode of Kṛṣa, son of Bhaluka, which seeks to establish the miraculous power of muttering Śiva's name. Kṛṣa was a devil incarnate who enjoyed the pleasure of the company of his step mothers and his preceptor's wives for twelve years. But at the time of his death he had accidentally uttered the name of Śiva and Kāśī and hence he was taken to Śiva loka after his death. Moreover, there are abundant references to Brahmā and other gods worshipping Mahadeva, the greatest of all gods¹⁴⁹. There was a Śūdra named Kramelaka in Kāśī, who was devoted and was sincere in his pious acts. His wife and son followed his way. He offered worship to Śiva, and was free from such pseudo religions as are known as vyalika dharma¹⁵⁰. Now once, Bhāguri the great sage was maltreated by Kramelaka when the sage seeking refuge at the latter's residence, was refused. Hence Kramelaka had to pay bitter price for this as he was penalised after his death. Ultimately he muttered the name of Śiva and was saved. The staunch followers of Śaivism tried to make even Vyasa a true follower of Śiva¹⁵¹.

These are sufficient proofs that this is purely the work of the Śaivas.

About its provenance some tentative suggestions may be given. In more places than one, there are references to

¹⁴⁹ Ib d. bhagavān devatāḥ sarvā yajña bhāga vivarj tāt f. 26a.

¹⁵⁰ Ib d. vyalika-dharma nuṣṭhasya na cābhūt kaluṣā matuḥ f. 17a.

¹⁵¹ Ibid. f. 2a.

Kīkata (Bihar) which has been spoken of in high eulogistic terms. In one place it has been mentioned that Kīkata is superior even to Vārānasi¹⁵² It may be possible that the local people (i e., belonging to Kīkata) in their zeal for the glorification of their own land ascribe such eminence to their native land knowing fully well that the treatise in hand has really to deal with the glorification of Kāśī

The work claims to belong to the Pātāla-khanda of the *Padma-p*, but its claim is not legitimate, for the Pātāla-khanda neither in its Devanāgarī nor in its Bengal recension contains it.

¹⁵² Ibid.,

tat tad-dharma ratair-vyāsa varair-vārāṇasī purī /
anyathā samsevyaṃ nāsti kiṅkaṭān-nāturicyate // f 29a.

(10) KAPILA-GĪTĀ

It¹⁵³ is found in the colophons of each of the chaps. of this work that it has been taken or quoted from or is only the repetition of the *Padma-p.*, but it omits to mention the name of any particular Khanda like the Pātāla, Uttara or some other from which it may have been taken. But actually, in the present ed. of the *Padma-p* we nowhere find such vss. as constitute the Kapila-gītā. Most probably it has been written by an upholder of Tāntricism as it deals only with the Tāntric Philosophy and nothing else. In doing so, it has broken the usual tradition of the Purānas or the Māhātmyas which claim to be parts of the Purānas. Here the Sūta is not the speaker as is usually the case in the Purānas and Māhātmyas, but he is the hearer. Here he asks questions and does not answer the questions put to him.

It goes on elaborately discussing the basic principles which in every case are five in number. A large list of the principles or the things which contain the number five is given. These are pañca-brahma, pañca-deva, pañca-sthāna, pañca-mātrkā, pañca-vākya, pañca-śūnya, pañcāvasthā, pañca-deha, pañca-mātrā, pañca-veda, pañca-gupta, pañca-padma, pañca-bhūta, pañca-kriyā, pañca-dik, pañca-kona, pañca-kṛtya, pañca-pramāna, pañcānga, pañca-mudrā, pañcakalā, pañca-mārga, pañcākāśa, pañca-dehābhimānin, pañcavādya, pañca-padā gāyatrī, pañca-śakti, pañca-nirnaya, pañcāgnih, pañcānanda and pañca-dikṣā. This mysterious number five which is essentially a very useful term to the tantrics has been dealt with in an exhaustive way. The pañca-devatās are as follows:

‘brahmā viṣṇuś-ca rudraś-ca īśvaraś-ca sadāśivah /
pañca-daivata-vikhyātaṃ pañca-brahma-

svarūpavān / ¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³ Our analysis of the work is based on one ms. entitled Kapila-gītā belonging to Asiatic Society (Calcutta) no. G. 3199. There is a printed book having the same title which has been printed with a Marathi commentary by Haridasa from Poona. But the two are widely different in contents and nature. The latter, consisting of 34 chaps. from the *Padma-p* is actually found in the printed ed. of the *Padma-p* the former has not yet been published.

¹⁵⁴ Kapila-gītā, f. 2b.

The pañca-mudrās are as follows:

khecarī bhūcarī caiva cācarī ca agocarī /
unmanī ceti vikhyātāh pañca-mudrāh prakīrtitāh / / ¹⁵⁵

The pañca-mārga has been classified in the following way:

pipīlikā vihamgaś-ca kapimārgo'himīnakam /
śesamārgādi-samkhyāyām pañca-mārgāh purātanāh / / ¹⁵⁶

Pañcāyatana worship has been referred to more than once¹⁵⁷.

The Sauras worship Sūrya, the Śāktas offer their obeisance to Śakti, the Gānapatya pray to Ganeśa, Viṣṇu is worshipped by the Vaisnavas and the Śaivas pay their whole-hearted devotion to Śiva.¹⁵⁸ The different sects feel satisfied in offering prayer to their respective deities. But even among these five deities some sort of distinction has been made. It has been remarked that Sūrya-worship is better than Ganapati-worship Viṣṇu is considered superior to Sūrya, in the hierarchy, who himself is lower than Śiva who again stands below Śakti¹⁵⁹.

We know how the Sāmkhya-Yoga system of Hindu Philosophy has considerably influenced the existing Purānas or the Māhātmyas said to be related to them. In fact there are ample evidences to show that the existing Purānas discuss to some extent or other the Sāmkhya system of creation. But in this work, a list of six systems of Hindu Philosophy is shown where the names of these two systems are not

¹⁵⁵ Ibid, f 2b

¹⁵⁶ Ibid, f 2b

¹⁵⁷ Ibid,

ganeśam bhaskaram viṣṇum rudram śaktim ca śāivatam /
veda-garbhesu pūjyante pañcāyatana-daivatam / / f 2a

¹⁵⁸ Ibid,

saurab-suryam-upāsanām ca satatam śāktāś ca śaktim tathā /
ganeśasya param ganeśa bhajanam viṣṇum bhajed vaiṣṇavaḥ / /
śaivānām śiva pujanam paramakam. / f 7b

¹⁵⁹ Ibid,

sarva mantrādhikam śreṣṭham pañcāyatana mantrakam /
gajananādhikatarām sūrya vidyā viśiṣyate / /
surya vidyādhikam devī viṣṇu-vidyā viśiṣyate /
viṣṇu vidyādhikam śreṣṭha-śāmbhavam śiva-vidyayā / /
śāmbhavād adhikam devī śakti-vidyā parā smṛtā / f 5b

found.¹⁶⁰ The Cārvāka system has been included and Nyāya, Naiyāyika and Tarka are mentioned separately. There are two other lists of sad-darśana. But nowhere Sāṃkhya-Yoga is included.¹⁶¹

It is needless to speak at length about the description and glorification of Tāntric Philosophy. It discards the elementary things required in common worship. Such procedures as anga-nyāsa, dhyāna, bhūta-śuddhi, prāna-pratisthā, kavaca-yantra-pūjana, sahasra-nāma-japa, homa etc. which are essential to ordinary worship ultimately fail to give salvation. Only by muttering pañcāksara mantra¹⁶² one may attain moksa or final salvation from bondage. The emphasis on the human body—a usual custom with the Tāntric priests, has been referred to. Kapila compares different nādis of the body with different rivers which respectively are Bhāgīrathī, Yamunā, Gaṇḍakī, Sarasvatī, Narmadā, Tāptī, Kāverī, Gomatī, Tāmraparnī, Sindhu and others.¹⁶³ In the process of self-realisation, Guru is accorded the highest honour and authority.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.,

vedānta-nyāya-mīmāṃsā-tarka-naiyāyikas-tathā /
cārvākiṇī śāstrīṇi sad-darśanam-ape smṛtam // f 6b

¹⁶¹ Ibid.,

śaivāḥ śākhā-tathā saurā gīṇapatyā-tatharva ca /
jāmari ca varṇavarṇa prokṣam sad-darśanam-eti smṛtam // f 6b

¹⁶² Ibid., f. 6a.

¹⁶³ Ibid., f. 8a.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., f. 8b.

(11) GAṆEŚA-SAHASRA-NĀMA-VYĀKHYĀ

This is going to be the last work¹⁶⁵ which we are analysing in course of our study. The name itself indicates that it deals with the expositions and illustrations of the thousand names of Ganapati. These names have been spoken of by Ganapati himself who had learnt them from Mahādeva. So, it is highly probable that this is a contribution of the Gānapatya sect who had tried to have this treatise included in the *Padma-p*. But unfortunately their endeavour did not bear fruit. This short treatise was never recognised as a part of the *Padma-p*.

Sectarian jealousy and rivalry of the different religious communities have been manifested here. Some Purāṇas belonging predominantly to the Śaivas are vociferous in blaming the Vaiṣnavas who in their Purāṇas had devoted their whole-hearted energy to belittle the Śaivas. The necessary lines may be quoted:

kesucit purāṇesu sivotkarsa-pratipādakesu vaiṣnavānām
purāṇānām-asatyatvam viṣnor-nindā ca smaryate Evam
viṣnūtkarsa-pratipādakesu saiva-purāṇānām-asatyatvaṃ
śiva-nindā ca gādham pratiyate.¹⁶⁶

It appears that throughout the ms. an idea of tolerance prevails. Thus although it probably belongs to the Gānapatya sect, the maxim that 'all roads lead to Rome' has repeatedly been suggested here. Synthetical attempts to cement the differences among various sects and sectaries have been made with a number of quotations from the *Vedas*, *Smṛtis*, *Mīmāṃsā*, *Nyāya*, *Vaiśeṣika-darśana*, *Mbh*, *Gītā*, *Āyur-veda*, *Dhanur-veda*, *Gandharva-veda*, *Vaikhānasa-sūtra*, *Pañcarātra-saṃhitās*, *Linga-p.*, and *Bhāgavata-p.*

The second interesting feature of the ms. is that it delineates eighteen kinds of scripts, some of which are Gauda, Andhra, Drāvida, Nāgara, Pāraśika, Maithila, Karnātaka,

¹⁶⁵ The ms. which we have consulted belongs to the Asiatic Society (Calcutta) no. G 1765. See *Shastri Cat.*, vol. V p. 236-237.

¹⁶⁶ Gaṇeśa-sahasra nāma vyākhyā, f. 80a.

Kerala and Kāśmīra.¹⁶⁷ It is obvious that the list does not primarily offer any new information but the names mentioned here are hardly found anywhere else. Gauda, e g., is seldom used to mean the script of that name which may be proto-Bengali or Bengali. Similarly there is no script known as Karnātaka or Kerala. These are the names of provinces or some territories. Here these imply the scripts used in the respective countries.

CHAPTER V

THE PROBLEM OF ŚĀNTĀ'S PARENTAGE AS PRESENTED IN THE PADMA-PURĀNA

In course of our analytical study of the *Padma p* we had to go through its Bengal mss which differ a good deal from its printed editions as we have observed before and while examining the still unpublished Bengal text of its *Patāla khanda* we came across a few vss containing a short account of Śāntā, whom this text of the *Pātāla-khanda* gives out to be a daughter of king Daśaratha of Ayodhyā but who has been described in some other sources as a daughter of Lomapāda,¹ king of Anga. It is well known that the question of Śāntā's parentage is still a problem to all critical students of the *Ram* which presents one or other of the above two views in its different recensions, but unfortunately no illuminating light has yet been thrown upon this problem by way of reasonable solution.^{1a} We have therefore, felt it necessary to examine this problem critically and see what the correct view about Śāntā's descent was, how a second and incorrect tradition about Śāntā's parentage arose, and how it could affect the text of the *Ram*. We think that our study of the *Padma p* will perhaps remain unfinished if we do not discuss this problem.

It has already been said that the different recensions of the *Ram* are not unanimous about Śāntā's descent from Daśaratha, king of Ayodhya, or from Lomapāda, king of Anga. According to the South Indian recension, as

¹ This name (Lomapāda) occurs in the North western and Bengal recensions of the *Ram* but in the South Indian recension it has been given as Romapāda. As the *Mbh* *Haricand* *Layu p* and *Matsya p* also spell this name as Lomapāda we have preferred this spelling to Romapāda which occurs in the *Vṛnu-p* also. The South Indian mss as a general rule use r for l but the orthography does not make much difference.

^{1a} In his monograph on the subject, De Sage von Rāyāśṛṅga (Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesell. der Wiss. zu Göttingen Phil. hist. Kl. 1897 pp. 87-135 also ibid. 1901 pp. 28-56) Professor Heinrich Lüders has dealt with the Rāyāśṛṅga legend but it has got no bearing on the subject which we propose to discuss here.

printed in the Kumbhakonam,² Vang. Press (Calcutta)³ and Burdwan editions,⁴ Daśaratha of Ayodhyā was childless (anapatya) and Śāntā was the daughter of Romapāda, king of Anga and a friend and relative of Daśaratha. In this recension⁵ the story of Ṛsyaśṛṅga, which contains the said information about Śāntā, has been given in sargas 8-11 of the Ādi-kāṇḍa.⁶ This is as follows:

Sarga 8—King Daśaratha of Ayodhyā had a glorious and successful reign but no son to continue his line (nāsid vamsākarah sutaḥ). As his austere practices for the birth of a male issue bore no fruit, he thought of performing the horse-sacrifice for the purpose. He consulted his ministers in this matter, and, after coming to a decision about the performance of the sacrifice, asked Sumantra, a minister of his, to bring immediately to him all elderly people including Vasistha, the family priest. Consequently Sumantra brought in Suyajña, Vāmadeva, Jāvālī, Kāśyapa, Vasistha and other eminent brahmīns to the king's presence. Daśaratha honoured them and informed them of his intention for duly performing a horse-sacrifice for the birth of a male issue for which he was pining so long. Vasistha and others greeted him for his honest wish, advised him to make necessary preparations and to select a site for the sacrifice on the northern bank of the river Sarayū,⁷ and assured him of the birth of sons so much desired by him. Being thus encouraged by these brahmīns, Daśaratha ordered his ministers to procure necessary materials, to find out a suitable horse, to prepare the sacrificial ground on the northern bank of the Sarayū in accordance with the direction of the brahmīns, and to

¹ Though the Vang and Burdwan editions have a number of additional lines, their text is very much the same as that of the Kumbhakonam ed. mentioned above.

² This substantially agrees with the Vulgate text given by the Bombay ed.

³ This ed. has the same text as that of the Vang Press.

⁴ For this recension we have principally used the Vang ed. to which we have referred in the following pages. The variations, if any, in the Kumbhakonam and Burdwan editions have been noted in the respective cases.

⁵ In the Kumbhakonam ed. the Ādi-kāṇḍa has been named as Bāla-kāṇḍa.

⁶ sarayvās-cottare tīre yajña bhumir vidhiyātām Rām Vang ed. 18.12a (= Burdwan ed. 18.12b). This line occurs neither in the Kumbhakonam ed. nor in those of the North western and Bengal recensions.

perform the pacificatory rites (śāntayah) duly to avoid the disturbances to be created by brahmarāksasas. He then entered the harem, informed his queens of the sacrifice he was going to perform, and asked them to get themselves initiated for the purpose.

Sarga 9—After hearing Daśaratha's words Sumantra told him in private about an ancient tale in which he heard that in ancient times Sanatkumāra had made a prediction in the presence of other sages about the birth of sons to Dasaratha. According to this prediction, a son named Rsyasrnga would be born to Vibhāṇḍaka, son of Kaśyapa. Being brought up in a hermitage from his very birth Rsyasrnga would be a perfect celibate and have no experience of any human being other than his father. At that time a powerful king, Romapāda by name, would be ruling over Anga. Due to a fault of this king there would be a severe drought in his kingdom, and the king would invite suggestions from wise brahmins for remedy. The latter would advise him to bring Rsyasrnga to his kingdom and duly offer his daughter Śantā to him.⁸ Being unable to decide how he could bring Rsyasrnga to his realm, Romapada would ask his priest and ministers to bring the young sage there. Out of fear from the sage the latter would refuse to comply with the king's request and entreat him for exemption. They would, however, think out a safe plan, according to which Romapada could bring Rsyasrnga by sending courtesans and give Śantā in marriage to him with the result that the god of rain would send down showers to Romapada's kingdom.

Being assured by Sumantra that this Rsyasrnga, the son-in-law, would cause the birth of sons to him,⁹ Dasaratha

⁸ ānaya tu mahipāla rśyaśrngam susatkrtam /
vibhaṇḍaka sutam rājan brahmaṇam veda paragam //
prayaccha kanyam śantām vai vidhina susamahitah /
Ram Vang ed 19 13 14a = Burdwan ed 19 14

The second line does not occur in the Kumbhakonam ed.
For the text of this vs as occurring in the North western and Bengal recensions

see fn 20 below

⁹ rśyaśrngas-tu jamātā putrāṃs tava vidhāsyat Ram Vang ed 19 20a = Burdwan ed 19 20a = Kumbhakonam ed 19 18a This line does not occur in the North western and Bengal recensions

became very glad and requested him to narrate how Romapāda was able to bring Rsyasrnga to his kingdom

Sarga 10—In accordance with the king's request Sumantra described the incident as follows

Romapāda's priest and ministers advised him to send courtesans to lure Rsyasrnga who had experience neither of men nor of the objects of senses and the pleasures arising therefrom Romapāda accepted their advice, and the priest and the ministers engaged a number of courtesans, who entered the forest and encamped at a place not very far from Vibhāndaka's hermitage When wandering about in the forest Rsyasrnga chanced to see these damsels attired in colourful dresses As soon as the latter saw the young sage, they approached him singing sweetly, knew his identity by putting questions, and soon formed close intimacy with him They accompanied him to his hermitage, accepted the roots, fruits and other things offered by him, delighted him with embraces, gave him various kinds of sweets and delicious food to eat, and then took leave of him with the pretext of returning to their own hermitage Rsyasrnga, who was charmed and powerfully attracted by these acts of the courtesans, felt very anxious, and on the following day went to the place where he had met his friends Finding the young sage there the courtesans came forward and invited him to visit their hermitage Rsyasrnga readily accepted their invitation and the latter took this opportunity to lure him to Romapāda's kingdom, where, with his arrival, there were heavy showers of rain to the joy of all Romapāda welcomed the sage to his capital, pleased him in various ways, and gave his daughter Śānta in marriage to him¹⁰ Being duly

¹⁰ antahpuram pravesyāsma kanyām dattvā yathā vidhi /

śāntām śāntena manasā rajā harṣam-avapa saḥ / /

Rām Vāṅg ed' 1' 10' 32—*Bhurāwan* ed' 1' 10' 32—*Kumdhakomam* ed' 1' 5' 30
[v 1 prav syasmai]=Bhagavad Datta s ed 1 8 73b-74a In Amāreswar Thakur s as
well as Gorresio s ed tions (Bengal recens on) th s vs reads as follows

dadau cāsmat tadā kanyām bhāryam kamalā locanām /

śāntām śāntena manasā dattva harṣam avapa saḥ / /

(Amāreswar Thakur s ed 1 9 64 and Gorresio s ed. 1 9 68) Schlegel s ed has the
first line only (see 1 9 69b)

honoured by Romapāda with the offer of all objects of desire the young sage remained there with his wife

Sarga 11—Sumantra further continued to report Sanat-kumāra's prediction about the birth of sons to Daśaratha. This prediction was as follows:

iksvākūnām kule jāto bhaviṣyati sudhārmikah /
 nāmnā daśaratho rājā śrīmān satya-pratiśravāh / /
 anga rājena sakhyam ca tasya rājño bhaviṣyati /
 kanyā casya mahabhāga śāntā nāma bhaviṣyati / /
 putras-tv-angasya rājñas-tu romapāda iti srutah /¹¹
 tam sa rāja dasaratho gamiṣyati mahāyaśah / /
 anapāto'smi dharmatman śāntā-bhartā mama kratum /
 āhareta tvayājñaptah santanārtham kulasya ca / /
 śrutvā rājño'tha tad-vākyam manasā ca vicintya ca /
 pradāsyate putravantam śāntā-bhartāram-ātmavan / /
 pratigrhya ca tam vipram sa rāja vigata-jvarah /
 āharisyati tam yajñam prahrstenāntarātmanā / /
 tam ca rājā daśaratho yaśaṣkamah krtāñjalih /
 ryaśrngam dvija śreṣṭham varayisyati dharmavit / /
 yajñārtham prasavārtham ca svargārtham ca naresvarah /
 labhate ca sa tam kāmam dvija-mukhyād viśampatiḥ / /
 putrās cāsyā bhaviṣyanti catvāro'mita-vikramāḥ /
 vāmśa-pratiṣṭhana karāḥ sarva-bhutesu viśrutah / /¹²

"In the family of Ikṣvaku will be born a highly pious king, Dasaratha by name, who will attain prosperity and be true to his promise

And that king will have friendship with the king of Anga, and to this (king of Anga) will be born a highly blessed daughter named Śāntā

The son of the king of Anga will be known as Romapāda. That highly renowned king Dasaratha will approach him and say

I am childless, O righteous one, being directed by

¹¹ The Kumbhakonam ed. reads this line as follows
 putras-tu so'nga rajasya romapāda iti srutah

¹² Ram Vang ed 1 11 2 10=Burdwan ed 1 11 2 9=Kumbhakonam ed 1 11 2 10. In the Kumbhakonam ed. there are a few minor variations in reading in some of the lines besides that mentioned in the immediately preceding footnote.

you let the husband of Śāntī perform my sacrifice (meant) for the continuation of my family

Then hearing that word of the king and deliberating fully with his mind that self possessed one will give (to Daśaratha) the husband of Śāntī who has already a son

After accepting that brahmin, that king (Daśaratha) will get relieved of his mental distress and make preparations for that sacrifice with an extremely delighted mind

And king Daśaratha, the lord of people, who will have desire for attaining fame and be conversant with the sacred law, will worship Rṣyaśringa, the best of the twice-born people, with folded palms

For (the performance of) the sacrifice, for (the birth of) progeny, and for (the attainment of) heaven And that lord of his subjects will attain that desire from that chief of the twice-born people

And to this king will be born four sons of unlimited prowess, who will give stability to his line and be highly renowned among all creatures "

husband, O lord of the subjects, because (there) a great work has been undertaken "

In accordance with Daśaratha's request Romapāda asked Rśyaśṅga to go with his wife to Daśaratha's capital Rśyaśṅga gave his consent, and the two friends greeted each other with folded palms and embraces Daśaratha then took leave of Romapāda and started for his own capital He sent swift moving messengers to Ayodhyā, directing the citizen to cleanse and decorate the entire city The latter, who were very glad to learn that their king was returning, carried out the royal order, and with the great brahmin in his front, king Daśaratha entered the finely decorated city to the delight of all He then took Rśyaśṅga to his harem, honoured him in accordance with the directions of Śāstras, and deemed himself successful in his mission "Seeing the large-eyed Śāntā thus come with her husband, all the inmates of the harem were pleased and delighted Being honoured by them and especially by the king, she happily resided there for some time with the twice-born (i e , her husband and son) 14"

¹⁴ antaḥpurāṇi sarvāṇi śāntāṃ dr̥tvā tathāgatām /
saha bhartrā viślīkṣiṃ prītyānandam upāgamat //
pūjyamānā tu tābh ḥ sī rājā ca va viśeṣataḥ /
uvāsa tatra sukhī kameit kālāṃ saha-dvija //
Rām Vaṅg ed 1 11 30-31 = Burdwan ed 1 11 28-29 (v 1 upāgaman for
upāgamat in line 2) = Kumbhakonam ed 1 11 29-30 (v 1 antaḥpura stṛiyāḥ sarvāḥ
for the first half of line 1 upāgamam for upāgamat in line 2 ca for tu in line 3
saharvija for saha-dvija in line 4)

The corresponding vs in Gorresio and Amarswar Thakur's editions (both belonging to the Bengal recension) are as follows

antaḥpura janat-cāp dr̥tvā śāntāṃ upāgatām /
mumude pūjayac-ca nām saha bhartrā v līnīm //
sa pūjyamānaḥ parayā mudāṇa to
maharī putro nara-deva-sa īmanī /
uvāsa tasm n saha śāntayā sukhī
yathā mahen lasya pure bṛhaspat ḥ //
Gorresio's ed 1 10 37-39 = Amarswar Thakur's ed 1 10 37-39

In Bhagavad Datta's ed these two vs. read as follows

antaḥpurāṇi sarvāṇi dr̥tvā śāntāṃ tathāgatām /
saha bhartrā viślīkṣiṃ prītyānandan mudā tataḥ //
kampujyamānā stut bh r̥yathā rājā viśeṣataḥ /
uvāsa tatra saumanāḥ k meit kālāṃ dv jaratāḥ // (1 9 35-36)

In Schlegel's ed (1 10 35-36) which belongs to the Bengal recension the first vs is the same as vs 37 of Gorresio and Amarswar Thakur's editions mentioned above but the second agrees almost literally with the second vs. of Bhagavad Datta's ed

The story of Rsyasṅga has also been given in the North-western and Bengal recensions as presented respectively by Bhagavad Datta's ed (which gives the North-western text) and those of Aug Gaul A Schlegel, Gaspare Gorresio, and Amareswar Thakur (which present the text of Bengal). In the last three editions (viz., those of Schlegel, Gorresio and Thakur) the above story has been given in Ādi kāṇḍa,¹⁵ sargas 8-10, but in Bhagavad Datta's ed it occurs in sarga 8 and sarga 9 (vss 1-37) which correspond respectively to sargas 8-9 and sarga 10 of the other three editions. All these four editions lack vss 5-25 of sarga 8 of the South Indian recension (which narrate the incidents beginning from Sumantra's bringing of Vasistha and others at Daśaratha's order and ending with Daśaratha's advice to *his queens to get themselves initiated for the horse sacrifice*), and give the story of Rsyasṅga with certain modifications, the most important of which are noted below from sargas 8-10 of Amareswar Thakur's ed. Those points of difference between the four editions mentioned above, which have been found necessary for our purpose, have also been noted in their respective places.

Sarga 8—This sarga, though agreeing very much in language and contents with sarga 8, vss 1-4 and sarga 9 of the South Indian recension, has certain variations, the most important of which are the following:

(i) Being asked by Daśaratha to bring Vasistha and all other superiors to him without delay, Sumantra referred to the ancient tale in which Sanatkumāra had spoken in times of yore about the future birth of sons to Daśaratha. Sumantra then reproduced what Sanatkumāra had said by way of a prediction about the birth and conduct of Rsyasṅga and the severe drought in Lomapāda's kingdom. In this prediction Sanatkumāra is said to have stated

(ii) that the wise brahmins, consulted by Lomapāda for finding out a remedy for the prolonged drought, would

¹⁵ This part has been called *Bāla kāṇḍa* in Schlegel and Bhagavad Datta's ed.

advise the king to bring R̥ṣyaśṛṅga and formally give his 'daughter Śāntā' to him;¹⁶

(iii) that Lomapāda's priest, administrative officer and counsellors would not be able to enlighten him as to the means to be adopted for bringing R̥ṣyaśṛṅga to his kingdom;

(iv) that even after being ordered by Lomapāda to bring R̥ṣyaśṛṅga, his ministers would refuse to go personally for the purpose out of fear from the sage but would undertake to adopt some faultless means to bring the young sage there;

(v) that after deliberating with his ministers for three days,¹⁷ Lomapāda would have R̥ṣyaśṛṅga brought to his own city by courtesans disguised as sages, and with the young sage's arrival, there would be showers in his kingdom; and

(vi) that the king would formally give to him as wife his own daughter Śāntā, endowed with an exuberance of beauty, (and) thus that powerful R̥ṣyaśṛṅga, a great ascetic, would become the son-in-law of that royal sage Lomapāda.¹⁸

Sarga 9—This sarga corresponds to sarga 10 of the South Indian recension, begins in much the same way as the latter, but in Schlegel, Gorresio and Amareswar Thakur's editions it often gives varied texts with good numbers of

¹⁶ ānāyā tu mahārāja r̥ṣyaśṛṅgam-r̥ṣeḥ sutam /

prayacchāsmat sūtam śāntam vidhinā susamāhitam //

Amareswar Thakur's ed 1.8 16 = Schlegel's ed 1.8 16 (v l 'mahipala' for 'mahārāja' in line 1) = Gorresio's ed 1.8 16 = Bhagavad Datta's ed 1.8 16 For the text of this vs, as occurring in the different editions of the South Indian recension, see f n 8 above

¹⁷ The vs

iti teṣāṃ vacaḥ śrūtvā bhūyaḥ sa pṛthivī patih /

īrtiye hanu nūcītya mantribhir-mantra nūcayam //

of Schlegel, Gorresio and Amareswar Thakur's ed, which mentions Lomapāda's coming to a decision on the third day, does not occur in Bhagavad Datta's ed

¹⁸ tataḥ sa rājā vidhivac-śāntāṃ tasmai pradāsyati /

svakam duhitaram bhāryāṃ rūpaudārya-samanvitām //

evam tasya sa jñātā bhaviṣyati mahātapāḥ /

lomapādasya rājār̥ṣeḥ-r̥ṣyaśṛṅgaḥ pracāpavān //

Amareswar Thakur's ed 1.8 26-27 = Schlegel's ed 1.8 25-26 (v l 'rūpaudārya-guṇānvitām' for 'rūpaudārya-samanvitām' in line 2, 'mahāyāśāḥ' for 'mahātapāḥ' in line 3) = Gorresio's ed 1.8 26-27 = Bhagavad Datta's ed 1.8 25-26 (v l 'sa rājā vidhivat kanyāṃ' (śāntā) for 'tataḥ sa rājā vidhivac' in line 1, 'rūpaudārya-guṇānvitām' for 'rūpaudārya-samanvitām' in line 2, 'sa tasya' for 'tasya saḥ' in line 3)

additional vsś and differs considerably from the corresponding sarga in the South Indian recension in its description of the means adopted for luring Rśyaśṅga to Lomapāda's capital. Even between the Bengal and the South Indian recension there are notable differences in some respects, as will be evident from the peculiarities noted below.

According to the Bengal text as found printed in Amareśwar Thakur and Gorresio's editions¹⁹

(i) Lomapāda sent the courtesans in big boats in which living trees bearing fruits and having roots and branches had been planted to give these an appearance of hermitages and which had been furnished with fragrant drinks and tasteful sweets and fruits,²⁰

(ii) the well dressed courtesans lay in wait for Rśyaśṅga not very far from Vibhāṇḍaka's hermitage, hiding themselves behind shrubs and creepers out of fear from the sage, and as soon as the young sage came out, they tried to attract his notice by sporting in various ways, singing melodious songs, and making amorous gestures,²¹

¹⁹ *Rām* Amareśwar Thakur's ed. 1.9.8-9 = Gorresio's ed. 1.9.8-9. The corresponding vsś in Seellegel's ed. are 1.9.3-7 and 11a which have a quite different text and state that young and charming courtesans were sent in boats which were nicely painted and beautifully decorated with artificial (kṛtrima) trees containing various kinds of birds and artificial fruits. The above vsś of the different editions of the Bengal recension occur neither in Bhāṅga's ed. nor in Datta's ed. nor in those of the South Indian recension.

It is interesting to note here that in the *Aśb* also we find mention of the courtesans use of a decorated boat for bringing Rśyaśṅga (see 3/11, 11.11.117). It is highly probable that for the peculiarities in the story of Rśyaśṅga as given in chap. 110-113 of the *Vana parvan* the *Aśb* is indebted to the Bengal recension of the *Rām*. The idea of an old courtesan (jaradyuta) leading the party must have been derived by Adīśaśrīya (the author of a Bengal *Rām*) from the story of the *Aśb*. For the Rśyaśṅga legend with the mention of a hawk starting with her daughter in a decorated boat see also Kṛṣṇa-ra's *Bhāṅga-matru* 3. 738 ff.

(iii) after his first meeting with the courtesans Rṣyaśṛṅga felt a sort of mental unrest and had a sleepless night; Vibhāṇḍaka noticed it immediately after his return to the hermitage and enquired about its cause; Rṣyaśṛṅga described his pleasant experience, taking the courtesans to be sages, and Vibhāṇḍaka warned him saying that it must have been the Rāksases who had assumed such forms for misleading him;²²

(iv) after Rṣyaśṛṅga had been taken by the courtesans in a boat to Lomapāda's kingdom, Vibhāṇḍaka returned to his hermitage with a burden of roots and fruits, looked for Rṣyaśṛṅga in all possible quarters including the distant villages, learnt from the cowherds about Lomapāda's dedication of those villages in honour of Rṣyaśṛṅga, and became glad to know through meditation all that was brought about by Destiny;²³

(v) accompanied by the inmates of his harem Lomapāda received Rṣyaśṛṅga with due honour, attended upon him personally for his pleasure, and "became glad to give

but three lines occur in the South Indian recension. These three lines (viz., 40-41a), which occur in all the three editions of the Bengal recension state that being afraid of Vibhāṇḍaka the courtesans hid themselves behind shrubs and creepers but approached the young sage as soon as he came out of the hermitage.

²² *Ram*, Amareswar Thakur's ed 1 9 39 47—Gorresio's ed 1 9 41-50a. All these vss except one line (tad gatenaiṣa manasa na nidram adhyagacchata) are almost literally the same as Schlegel's ed 1 9 42a and 43 51, and for this line Schlegel's ed (1 9 42b) reads *asvatha hṛdayas tatra duḥkhārtah parivartate*, making no mention of Rṣyaśṛṅga's passing a sleepless night. (In the South Indian recension this line reads *asvatha hṛdayas cāśi duḥkhac-ca parivartate*—Vaṅg ed 1 10 23b).

None of the above vss (except 42b of Schlegel's ed mentioned above) occurs in any of the editions of the South Indian recension.

The corresponding vss in *Bhagavad Datta*'s ed are 1 8 60-66a, but in this ed there is no mention of Vibhāṇḍaka's warning to Rṣyaśṛṅga as found in the following lines of the Bengal recension.

abravīd bhagavān śrutvā rṣyaśṛṅga vacas-tadā /
rakṣāṁsi tena rupeṇa tapaso nāśanāya vai / /
viśrambhas te na kartavyas teṣu putra kathamcana /

(Amareswar Thakur's ed 1 9 46-47a = Gorresio's ed = Schlegel's ed 1 9 49-50)
²³ *Ram*, Amareswar Thakur's ed 1 9 53-60 = Gorresio's ed 1 9 55b-64 = Schlegel's ed 1 9 57 66a (v 1 negligible). These vss do not occur in *Bhagavad Datta*'s ed.

to him with a tranquil mind his lotus-eyed daughter Śāntā as wife²⁴.

(vi) Vibhāṇḍaka heard everything and returned to his hermitage with satisfaction²⁵.

It is to be noted that as regards the text of sarga 9, Schlegel's ed. does not agree completely with the other two editions of the Bengal recension. Sometimes it narrates the same incidents in completely different words and with innovations²⁶; sometimes it arranges in a different order some lines which are common with the other two editions of the Bengal recension²⁷; sometimes it has lines here and there in common with the South Indian recension, even though both the other two editions of the Bengal recension replace these lines with others²⁸; sometimes it has additional lines²⁹ and sometimes it lacks certain lines which occur in the other two editions of the Bengal recension³⁰.

Much more remarkable is the text of this sarga (9) as comprised in sarga 8 (vss. 31-76) in Bhagavad Datta's ed. which represents the North-western recension. In this ed. there are no vss. agreeing with or corresponding to:-

(i) Amareswar Thakur's ed. 1. 9 8-9 (=Gorresio's ed. 1. 9. 8-9) and Schlegel's ed 1. 9 5-7 and 11a, in which mention has been made of Lomapāda's sending of boats for bringing R̥ṣyaśṛṅga;

²⁴ Ram, Amareswar Thakur's ed 1. 9 61-64—Gorresio's ed 1. 9 65 68 (v 1 'ca' for 'sah' in the last line)=Schlegel's ed 1. 9 66b 69 (reading 'dadau kanyam tathā cāsmat' in the first half of vs 69b, and lacking the line 'śāntaṃ śāntena manasa dattvā haṣam-avāpa saḥ')

The corresponding vss in Bhagavad Datta's ed are 1. 8 71b-74a, the text of which is very different from that of the above-mentioned vss of the three editions of the Bengal recension

²⁵ Ram, Amareswar Thakur's ed 1. 9 66 This vs does not occur in any other ed

²⁶ See fn 20 above Compare also vss 31 and 56 with Amareswar Thakur's ed 1. 9 29 and 52=Gorresio's ed 1. 9 30b-31a and 54b 55a

²⁷ See fn 21 above

²⁸ For an instance see fn 22 above Compare also line 21b (which is the same as Varig ed 1. 10 9b, Burdwan ed 1. 10 11b and Kumbhakonam ed 1. 10 9b v 1 'sarvam' for 'sattvam') with Amareswar Thakur's ed 1. 9 10b (=Gorresio's ed 1. 9 10b)

²⁹ See for instance, lines 22b and 34a

³⁰ As instances we may mention vss 26, 64b and 66 of Amareswar Thakur's ed (of which the first two are the same as Gorresio's ed 1. 9 27b 28a and 68b)

(ii) Amareswar Thakur's ed. 1. 9. 13-18 (=Gorresio's ed. 1. 9. 13-20a=Schlegel's ed. 1. 9. 14-20 and 22a), which describe the courtesans' sports, songs and movements;

(iii) Amareswar Thakur's ed. 1. 9. 46-47a (=Gorresio's ed. 1. 9. 48-49a=Schlegel's ed. 1. 9. 49-50), which mention Vibhāṇḍaka's warning to Ṛṣyaśṛṅga that the Rāksases must have assumed beautiful human forms to lead him astray;

(iv) Amareswar Thakur's ed. 1. 9. 53-60 (=Gorresio's ed. 1. 9. 55b-64=Schlegel's ed. 1. 9. 57-66a), which describe Vibhāṇḍaka's return to his hermitage, his search for Ṛṣyaśṛṅga in all quarters including the villages, and his satisfaction to learn through meditation all about his son, and

(v) Amareswar Thakur's ed. 1. 9. 66, which mentions Vibhāṇḍaka's return to his hermitage with satisfaction after hearing everything about Ṛṣyaśṛṅga.

On the other hand, this ed. has a comparatively large number of vss. in common with the South Indian recension³¹, and in narrating the incidents it follows this recension much more than that of Bengal.

³¹ This will be evident from the following list of vss. found common to two or more of the different editions

Bhagavad Datta's ed	Vaṅg ed	Schlegel's ed	Amareswar Thakur's ed
1 8 38a	1 10 7a (v l)	1 9 11b (v l as in Bhagavad Datta's ed)	1 9 10a (v l)
1 8 38b	1 10 8a		..
1 8 39a	1 10 8b (v l)		1 9 10b
1 8 39b	1 10 7b (v l)	1 9 12a (v l as in Bhagavad Datta's ed)	1 9 11b
1 8 40a		1 9 12b	1 9 12a
1 8 40b		1 9 13a	1 9 12b
1 8 41a		1 9 13b (v l as in Amareswar Thakur's ed)	
1 8 41b	1 10 9a (v l)	1 9 21a (v l as in Vaṅg ed)	1 9 19a
1 8 42a	1 10 9b (v l)	1 9 21b (v l as in Vaṅg ed)	1 9 19b
1 8 42b

Sarga 10—This sarga, which corresponds to vss. 1-37 of sarga 9 of Bhagavad Datta's ed. agrees with sarga 11 of the South Indian recension in some of the details but has two highly important variations, which are as follows:—

(1) Going to narrate how king Daśaratha would bring R̥syāśṛṅga to his capital and have his sacrifice performed by the latter, Sumantra reproduced Sanatkumāra's prophecy as follows:

iksvāku-vamśajo rājā bhaviṣyati mahāyaśāḥ ,
 nāmnā daśaratho nāma dhīmān satya-parākramah /
 sakhyam tasyāṅga-rājena bhaviṣyati mahātmanah ,
 kanyā cāsyā mahābhāga śāntā nāma bhaviṣyati / ,
 āṅga-rājo'napatyas-tu lomapādo bhaviṣyati /
 sa rājānam daśaratham prārthayisyati bhūmipah /
 anapatyāya me kanyām sakhe dātum tvam-arhasi /
 śāntām śāntena manasā putrārtham vara-varninīm
 śrutvā daśaratho vākyam prakṛtyā karunātmakah
 dāsyate tām tadā kanyām śāntām-angādhipāya sah

Bhagavad Datta's ed	Vaṅg ed	Schlegel's ed	Amareswar Thakur's ed
1 8 43a	1 10 10b (v 1)		
1 8 43b	1 10 10a		
1 8 44a		1 9 22a (v 1 as in Bhagavad Datta's ed)	1 9 18b (v 1)
1 8 44b	1 10 11a (v 1)	1 9 22b (v 1 following Bhagavad Datta's ed very much)	.
1 8 45a		1 9 23a (v 1 following Bhagavad Datta's ed partly and Amareswar Thakur's ed partly)	1 9 20a (v 1)
1 8 45b		1 9 23b (v 1 as in Bhagavad Datta's ed)	1 9 20b (v 1)
1 8 46a	1 10 11b		
1 8 46b	1 10 12a		.
1 8 47a	1 10 12b	1 9 26a (v 1 as in Amareswar Thakur's ed)	1 9 23
etc	etc	etc	etc

pratigrhya ca tām kanyām sa rājā vigata-jvarah /
 sva-puram yāsyati prītaḥ kṛtārthenāntarātmanā / /
 tām kanyām-ṛśyaśṛṅgāya pradāsyati sa pāṛthivah /
 ṛśyaśṛṅgo'pi ca prīto labdhvā bhāryām bhaviṣyati / ³²

"Born in the family of Ikṣvāku there will be a wise king of great fame and true prowess, Daśaratha by name.

That high-souled king will have friendship with the king of Anga; and to this king will be born a highly blessed daughter named Śāntā.

But Lomapāda, king of Anga, will be childless. That protector of the earth will make a prayer to king Daśaratha (saying:)

Be pleased friend, to give with a tranquil mind to me, who am childless, your fair-complexioned daughter Śāntā for serving the purpose of a son (to me).

Hearing (his) word Daśaratha, who will be compassionate by nature, will then give that virgin girl Śāntā to the lord of Anga.

And after accepting that girl that king will feel relieved of his mental distress and be glad to return to his own city with a contented heart.

That king will give that girl to Rśyaśṛṅga; and Rśyaśṛṅga also will be glad to have a wife".

(ii) After Daśaratha had gone to Lomapāda's capital, met Rśyaśṛṅga there, lived there for seven or eight days, and requested his friend saying;

śāntā tava sutā vīra saha bhartrā viśāmpate /
 mādiyaṃ nagaram yātu karyam hi mahad-udyatam / ³³

³² Ram, Amareswar Thakur's ed 1 10 2 8 = Gorresio's ed 1 10 2-8 - Schlegel's ed 1 10 2-8 (of which vs 2 is the same as 1 11 2 of the South Indian recension, vs 4a agrees with Bhagavad Datta's ed 1 9 4a, and vs 5a reads 'anapatyo'smi for 'anapatyāya') - Bhagavad Datta's ed 1 9 2-8 (of which vs 2 is practically the same as 1 11 2 of the South Indian recension, vs 4a reads 'aputras tv-aṅga rājo vai lomapāda itī śrutah', vs 5a reads 'anapatyo'smi dharmajña kanyeyam mama diyatām', vs 5b has 'putrārthi' for 'putrārtham', vs 6a reads 'tato rājā daśaratho manasābhivicitnya tam', vs. 6b reads 'nagaram' for 'sva puram' and 'kṣipram' for 'prītaḥ', and vs 7 reads kanyām tām ṛśyaśṛṅgāya pradāsyati sa vīryavān /

satya pratīśravo rājā sa ca śuddho bhaviṣyati / /
³³ Ram, Amareswar Thakur's ed 1 10 22 Gorresio's ed 1 10 22 Schlegel's ed 1 10 21 = Bhagavad Datta's ed 1 9 20b-21a This vs also occurs in the South Indian recension (for which see f.n. 13 above)

the latter gave his consent, went immediately to R̥ṣyaśṛṅga, and said:

ayaṃ rājā daśarathah sakhā me dayito bhṛṣam / /
 anena me'napatyāya datteyaṃ vara-varnini /
 yācate putra-kṛtyāya śāntā priyatamātmajā / /
 so'yaṃ te śvaśuro brahman yathaivāhaṃ tathā nṛpaḥ /
 śaranam tvām-anuprāptaḥ putrārthī dvija-sattama / /
 putrakāmam-imaṃ tāvat tvam yājayitum-arhasi /
 tārayainam-ito gatvā śāntayā bhāryayā saha / 1^a

“This king Daśaratha is a very dear friend of mine.

By him this fair-complexioned (girl) Śāntā—his dearest daughter born of his own self, was given to me, who was childless and prayed (to him) for the sake of the rites (to be performed) by a son.

That king, O Brahman, who is as much a father-in-law to you as I, has taken recourse to you with the object of having a son, O best of the twice-born.

Now, be pleased to conduct the sacrifice of this king who is desirous of having a son, (and) get him out (of this situation) after going from here with (your) wife Śāntā”.

It is to be noted that as regards the text of sarga 10 Schlegel's ed, though belonging to the Bengal recension, does not always agree with Gorresio and Amareswar Thakur's editions. It has more lines in common with the corresponding sarga (11) of the South Indian recension³⁵ than the editions of Gorresio and Amareswar Thakur, and almost all these lines also occur in Bhagavad Datta's ed. representing the North-western recension. Sometimes it follows the

³⁵ *R̥j.*, Amareswar Thakur's ed. 1. 10 24b-27 = Gorresio's ed. 1. 10 24b-27 = Schlegel's ed. 1. 10 23b-26 (v.l. 'putra kāmaya' for 'putra kṛtyāya' in line 3, 'tāta' for 'tāvat' in line 6, and 'saha bhāryayā' for 'bhāryayā saha' in line 7) = Bhagavad Datta's ed. 1. 9 23-26a (v.l. 'suhṛt' for 'bhṛṣam' in line 1, 'apatyārtham sacānena' for the first half of line 2, 'yācamānasya me brahman śāntā priyatarātmajā' for line 3, 'vipra' for 'brahman' in line 4, 'śaranārtham' for 'śaranam tvām' and 'putrārtham' for 'putrakāmam' in line 5, 'tāta sapthalam kartum' for 'tāvat tvam yājayitum' in line 6, and 'saha bhāryayā' for 'bhāryayā saha' in line 7)

³⁶ *CX.*, Schlegel's ed. 1. 10. 1b, 2a, 2b, 11b, 19^b and 23a with Vaṅg ed. 1. 11. 1b, 2a, 2b, 10a, 17a and 18a on the one hand and with Amareswar Thakur's ed. 1. 10. 1b, 2a, 2b, 11b, 20b, and 23a on the other

South Indian recension as regards readings of certain vss,³⁶ in a few cases it agrees only with the North-western recension in its reading of certain lines³⁷; and sometimes it omits lines contained in Gorresio and Amareswar Thakur's editions³⁸.

Bhagavad Datta's ed. on the other hand, though not differing appreciably, as regards contents, from sarga 10 of the Bengal recension, has greater textual affinity with the South Indian recension, with which it has a great number of vss. and words in common than Schlegel's ed.

From the above outlines of the story of Ṛsyaśrnga as occurring in the South Indian, North-western and Bengal recensions of the *Rām.* we learn, among others³⁹, one very important and interesting fact with which we are chiefly concerned here. This fact is as follows. In the South Indian recension Daśaratha is said to have called himself anapatya⁴⁰, (i.e., one having neither male nor female issue), when he met Lomapāda in his capital, and Śāntā is said to have been the daughter (sutā, kanyā) of the latter king (Lomapāda)⁴¹, there being no mention or indication in this recension that Lomapāda took Śāntā in adoption from Daśaratha, king of Ayodhyā. The North-western and Bengal recensions, on the other hand, declare Lomapāda to have been anapatya⁴² and give out in clear terms on two occasions that Śāntā was the daughter of Daśaratha, king of Ayodhyā, and that Lomapāda took her in adoption from Dasaratha and then gave her in marriage to Ṛsyaśrnga.

Thus, the South and North Indian recensions of the

³⁶ Schlegel's ed 1 10 1a, 13a, 30b etc (cf Vāṅg ed 1 11 1a, 12a, 25a etc)

³⁷ Schlegel's ed 1 10 4a and 17b (cf Amareswar Thakur's ed 1 10 4a & 18b)

³⁸ Amareswar Thakur's ed 1 10 16b-17a (=Gorresio's ed 1 10 16b-17a) do not occur in Schlegel's ed

³⁹ These will be stated in their respective places

⁴⁰ Vāṅg ed 1 11 5 (=Burdwan ed 1 11 5=Kumbhakonam ed 1 11 5) which has already been quoted

⁴¹ For the relevant vss see foot notes 8 and 10 above. See also *Rām.*, Vāṅg ed 1 11 3b and 19b=Burdwan ed 1 11 3b and 18a=Kumbhakonam ed 1 11 3b and 19a) quoted above. The second line also occurs in the North western and Bengal recensions, for reference to which see fn 33 above

⁴² Amareswar Thakur's ed 1 10 4-5 and 25 quoted above. For the different readings of these vss as occurring in Gorresio, Schlegel and Bhagavad Datta's editions, see foot-notes 32 and 34 above

the last one states, without mentioning the name of Śāntā, that after the birth of four sons king Daśaratha of Ayodhyā had a beautiful daughter, whom he gave to the sonless king Lomapāda⁴⁵, and in the Bengal mss of the *Patāla-khaṇḍa* of the *Padma-p* there are five lines which say

Then a daughter named Śāntā was born to that high-souled king Daśaratha of Ayodhyā. He gave her to his friend, king Lomapāda, who was childless, (and) the latter, conversant with law, considered her as his daughter. He gave that extremely charming daughter to Rśyaśṛṅga, Vibhāṇḍaka's son born of a female deer⁴⁶.

By his statement made in his *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya* that being desirous of having a son king Daśaratha of Ayodhyā had Rśyaśṛṅga brought to his capital by courtesans,⁴⁷ the author seems to imply that this king was the father of Śāntā, and in the prelude to his famous drama *Uttara-rāma-carita* Bhavabhūti expressly says that "king Daśaratha (of Ayodhya) begot a daughter named Śāntā, whom he gave in adoption to king Lomapāda" and that "Rśyaśṛṅga, son of Vibhāṇḍaka, married her"⁴⁸. Among the later writers also there were many

⁴⁵ *Skanda p* (Vaṅg ed) vi (Nagara khaṇḍa) 98 18 22 of which the last vs is as follows

tathānyā kanyaka caikā babhūva vara varṇinī /
dadau yāṃ putra hṛnasya lomapādasya bhupateḥ //
⁴⁶ atha śāntābhavan nāmnā kanya tasya mahatmanah /
tām asau pradadau śakhyai romapādāya bhūbhūje //
anapatyaya dharmajñāḥ sa tām kanyām akalpayat /
dadau sa rśyaśṛṅgaya tām kanyām sumanoharam /
v bhāṇḍakasya putrāya harinyām yo bhyajāyata //

Patāla khaṇḍa chap 12 (Vāṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat mss no 55 f 19b and no 1429 f 19a Asiatic Socy (Calcutta) mss no G 1416a f 23b and no G 4538 f 25b and so on)

It should be mentioned here that these vs do not occur in the printed editions of the *Patāla khaṇḍa*

⁴⁷ *Bhaṭṭi kāvya* 1 10 putriyatā tena varāṅganābh r śānyā /
mun h sām purīm rśyaśṛṅgaḥ //

⁴⁸ *Uttara-rāma-carita* Act I—

kanyām daśaratho rājā śāntām nāma vyajñanat /
apatya kṛt kām rājā lomapādāya yāṃ dadau // vs 4
v bhāṇḍaka-sutas-tām rśyaśṛṅga upayame /

That in writing the *Uttara-rāma-carita* Bhavabhūti used the North western recension of the *Ram* and not that of Bengal as stated by Amareśwar Thakur in his *Bhumikā*

who followed the North Indian tradition of Śāntā's descent. For instance, in the popular editions of Kṛttivāsa's Bengali *Rām*,⁴⁹ the story of Śāntā has been given as follows:

Being mortified by his sonlessness king Daśaratha of Ayodhyā married again and again until he had seven hundred and fifty wives including Kauśalyā, Kaikeyī, Sumitrā and another who was the daughter of a king of the Bhārgava family. To this last-mentioned wife of Daśaratha was born an extremely beautiful daughter who had a golden com-

pp iv v to his ed of the Ādi kāṇḍa, is shown definitely by Kuśa's citation from the *Rām* in *Uttara-rāma-carita* Act VI, of the two vss

prakṛtyaiva priyā sita rāmasyāsin mahātmanaḥ /
priya bhavaḥ sa tu taya eva guṇair-eva vardhitaḥ //
tathaiva rāmaḥ s tāyāḥ prañebhyo'pi priyo'bhavat /
hṛdayaṁ tv-eva janāti priti yogaṁ parasparam //

with the mention that these two vss occurred in the last chap of the 'Bāla-carita' (bala-caritasya antye'dhyaye ślokaḥ) It is to be noted that in the North western recension, as known from Bhagavad Datta's ed, the first pt is called 'Bala kāṇḍa' and consists of seventytwo sargas, and the above two vss occur in its concluding sarga LXXII (vss 13b-15a, with v l 'abhiwardhitaḥ' for 'eva vardhitaḥ' in line 2 and 'hi' for 'tu' and 'purātanam' for 'parasparam' in line 4) But in Gorresio and Amareswar Thakur's editions, both belonging to the Bengal recension, the first pt, called 'Ādi-kāṇḍa' in both of them, consists of eighty chaps and the above two vss occur not in its concluding sarga but in sarga LXXVIII (forming vss 13b-15a in Gorresio's ed and vss 13-14 in that of Amareswar Thakur) with the readings 'abhiwardhitaḥ' for 'eva vardhitaḥ' in the second line and 'hi' for 'tu' in the fourth. Schlegel's ed, on the other hand, though belonging to the Bengal recension and naming its first pt as 'Bāla kāṇḍa', does not contain the above two vss at all. In this ed the Bala kāṇḍa consists of seventyseven sargas like the editions of the South Indian recension, ends with the same sarga as that of the latter, and has instead of the above two vss, the following three in common with the South Indian recension -

priyā tu sitā rāmasya dāraḥ pṛīṭā iti /
guṇād rupa-guṇāc-capi prītiḥ bhuyo vyavardhata //
tasyāś-ca bhartā dvi guṇaṁ hṛdaye parivartate /
antargatam api vyaktam-ākhyati hṛdayaṁ hṛdā //
tasya bhuyo viśeṣa maṭhulī janakātmajā /
devatābhūṣaṁ samā rūpe sitā śrīr iva rūpiṇī //

Schlegel's ed 1 77 26-28 = Vaṅg ed 1 77 26b-28 (v l 'vivardhate' for 'vyavardhata' in line 2) = Burdwan ed 1 77 26-28 (v l. same as in the Vaṅg ed.) = Kumbhakonam ed 1 77 33-35 (reading 'abhiyavardhata' for 'vyavardhata' in line 2 and 'antarjātam' for 'antargatam' in line 4, although five mss read 'antargatam', and adding the line 'hṛdayaṁ taya janāti priti yogaḥ parasparam' on the authority of only one ms.)

⁴⁹ Purna Chandra De's ed, Ādi kāṇḍa, chaps 29 and 35-39. It is to be noted that both in this ed and in that of Dr N. K. Bhattacharya, Daśaratha is said to have been advised by the blind sage (whose son he had killed through mistake) to have a sacrifice conducted by R̥ṣyaśṛṅga for the birth of sons (Bhattacharya's ed, section 14 p 30 r̥ṣyaśṛṅge yajña kaile putra habe tor and De's ed, 1, chap 31 r̥ṣyaśṛṅge ām kara yajña ārambhap)

plexion and was consequently named Hemalatā. This girl who was also called Śāntā, was taken in adoption by Lomapāda, king of Aṅga, in accordance with a previous understanding with Daśaratha and given in marriage to Rśyaśṅga, whom Lomapāda had lured to his capital by means of courtesans sent in decorated boats for the purpose. A similar story of Śāntā is also found in Adbhutācārya's *Rām.* and some other works in Bengali. According to Candivati's *Rām.* Kaikeyī had a daughter named Kukuyā and the latter received training from the notorious maid-servant Mantharā and used to harass Sītā with searching questions about her residence at Laṅkā.⁵¹ The popularity of the North Indian tradition of Śāntā's descent from Daśaratha is also shown by Nanda Pandita's quotation of two vss. (occurring in the North Indian recensions) in support of taking a girl in adoption⁵². S. K. Belvalkar⁵³ and some other modern scholars⁵⁴ also take Śāntā to be the daughter of Daśaratha of Ayodhyā.

It is needless to multiply examples

⁵¹ For the boat episode, in which an old courtesan has been introduced as leading the party, see Purna Chandra De's ed., chap. 36. This episode, as given in De's ed. has been much influenced by Adbhutācārya's Bengali *Rām* which also gives out Śāntā to be the daughter of Daśaratha. In Dr. Bhattasali's ed. of the Ādi kāṇḍa, on the other hand, this boat episode is much shorter, and there is no mention of any old courtesan.

For the mention of the use of a boat given the appearance of a hermitage as well as of an old courtesan (jarad yōṣā) leading the party, see *Mbh.* (Vaṅg. ed.), III 111 11 and 110 55.

⁵² Dinesh Chandra Sen, *The Bengali Ramayana* pp. 196-198.

⁵³ Nanda Pandita's *Dattaka mīmāṃsā* p. 42 tatraiva rśyaśṅgam prātī lomapada vākyaṃ

'ayam rajā daśarathaḥ sakhā me dayitaḥ suhṛt /
apatyārīham mamānena datteyaṃ vara varṇin / /
yācamānasya me brahman śāntā priyatarā mama /
so'yaṃ te śvaśuro dhṛta yathāivaham tathā nṛpaḥ / /

atra diyataṃ dasyate pratigṛhya datta śabdair-danavidhiḥ spaṣṭa eva

⁵⁴ Belvalkar's Introduction (p. xlviii) to his English translation of the *Uttara rama-carita*. Also his note (no. 1) in which he says on the authority of *Viṣṇu-ḥ* IV. 18. "The epic does not say who the mother of Śāntā was. Daśaratha gave his daughter in adoption to Lomapāda and he married her to Rśyaśṅga."

⁵⁵ Isvaracandra Vidyāsāgara's ed. p. 5 and Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara's ed. pp. 6-7. P. V. Kane, however, appears to take Śāntā to be the daughter of Lomapāda on the authority of the *Rām* although he refers to *Viṣṇu-ḥ* IV. 18 saying "It is the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* that distinctly says that Daśaratha gave his daughter to Romapāda." Kane's notes p. 7 to his ed. of the *Uttara rama-carita*.

Though from the mention of Śāntā as the daughter of Daśaratha of Ayodhyā in the North-western and Bengal recensions of the *Rām* and from the repetition of this tradition in the works of reputed authors like Bhavabhūti it would appear that the North Indian tradition is the correct one, a critical study of all the recensions of the *Rām* will make one give one's verdict in favour of the South Indian tradition for the following reasons

1 In all the three editions of the Bengal recension Śāntā has been called the 'dearest daughter' (priyatamatmaja)⁵⁵ of Daśaratha of Ayodhyā. In the North western recension also she has been said to have been 'dearer to Daśaratha than his own self'⁵⁶. But it is strange that neither in any of the editions of the Bengal text, nor in those of the other recensions known to us there is any mention of Śāntā's mother, and there is also no indication of the time of her birth or of the jubilation that could be expected on that occasion. We are also not told that any of the wives of Daśaratha gave birth to a daughter. As a matter of fact, in the South Indian recension Daśaratha is said to have given himself out to be 'childless' ('anapatya' and not 'aputra') to his friend Lomapada. If Śāntā was really the daughter of Daśaratha of Ayodhyā and especially his first and dearest child, there is absolutely no reason why her mother should not be mentioned even once.

2 In all the recensions Daśaratha is said to have come to the capital of Anga to take Rśyaśrngā to Ayodhya with Lomapāda's permission and to have met Śāntā there, but in none of them there is any mention that Daśaratha or Śāntā uttered a word, or showed any sign, of love or affection or even of previous acquaintance either during their meeting or after it. This behaviour is quite unnatural for a natural father and daughter who have met each other after a long time.

3 We are told in all the editions that Daśaratha sent

⁵⁵ Amāreswar Thakur's ed. 1 10 25 = Gorresio's ed. 1 10 25 = Schlegel's ed. 1 10 24

⁵⁶ Bhagavad Datta's ed. 1 9 24 Śāntā priyatarātmanah

envoys to Ayodhyā, informing the citizens of his happy return and asking them to decorate the city, but it is remarkable that no mention of Śāntā has been made anywhere in this connection

4 After Daśaratha's return to Ayodhyā with Rśyaśrnga and Śāntā, the jubilant inhabitants of the city are said to have given a grand reception to their king and to have become glad to see the brahmin who was being ushered into the city by the king⁵⁷ Here also, no reference to Śāntā has been made in any of the editions Had Śāntā been the daughter and the first issue of the king of Ayodhyā, she would have surely been given a warm reception on her arrival after so long a time, even though she might have been given away in adoption

5 After Śāntā's entrance into the harem of Daśaratha the ladies there are said to have felt delighted and to have honoured her,⁵⁸ but none is found to have been mentioned as her mother or to have received her with motherly affection Even Daśaratha's relation with her was that of respect⁵⁹ and not of affection

6 In no recension of the *Ram* there is any mention of or reference to the ceremonies that could be expected on the occasion of a great king's giving away his first and dearest child in adoption According to Smṛti works, sacrifices and other religious rites are to be performed during the ceremony of adoption

7 It seems to be quite unlikely that Daśaratha could give his only daughter in adoption, when he was not sure of having any other issue The Smṛti works also disallow adoption in the case of an only child

8 From the outlines of the story of Rśyaśrnga given above from the different recensions we see that in all these recensions this story has been narrated in three distinct parts

⁵⁷ *Ram* Vañg ed 1 11 25 28 (=Burdwan ed 1 11 23 26—Kumbhakonam ed 1 11 26 28) Amareśwar Thakur's ed 1 10 33-35 (=Gorresio's ed 1 10 33 35) Schlegel's ed 1 10 30 33a and Bhagavad Datta's ed 1 9 31 33

⁵⁸ For the relevant vs see fn 14 above

⁵⁹ *Ram* Vañg ed 1 11 31a pūyamānā tu tābhiḥ sā rajāḥ caiva viśeṣataḥ
=Burdwan ed 1 11 29a=Kumbhakonam ed 1 11 30a

In the first part,⁶⁰ in which Lomapāda has been brought to prominence, we find Daśaratha making preparations for a horse-sacrifice for the birth of sons and Sumantra briefly narrating to him, on the authority of Sanatkumāra's prediction, the story of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga's birth and nature and Lomapāda's offer of Śāntā to that young sage after having him brought to his capital by courtesans to remedy the prolonged drought in his kingdom; in the second part⁶¹, Sumantra is found to describe elaborately, at Daśaratha's request the means devised and adopted by Lomapāda to lure Ṛṣyaśṛṅga to his capital; and in the third part⁶², in which Daśaratha figures prominently, this king is said to have met Lomapāda in the latter's capital and brought Ṛṣyaśṛṅga and Śāntā from there to Ayodhyā in accordance with the inscriptions of Sumantra, who had already stated on the authority of Sanatkumāra's prediction that for the birth of sons the sacrifice was to be conducted by Ṛṣyaśṛṅga.

Now, if Śāntā was really the daughter of Daśaratha of Ayodhyā and if she was taken in adoption by Lomapāda for his childlessness, as the North-western and Bengal recensions tell us, we could expect some mention at least to that effect in the first part of the story, where Śāntā has been mentioned for the first time and said to have been given in marriage to Ṛṣyaśṛṅga by Lomapāda. But curiously enough, it is in the third part of the story, as given in the North-western and Bengal recensions, that Śāntā has been given out on more than one occasion to have been the daughter of Daśaratha of Ayodhyā and Lomapāda has been said to have approached the latter and taken Śāntā in adoption from him after making a prayer to him for the purpose with the mention of his childlessness. That this new information about Śāntā (as contained in the North-western

⁶⁰ For this part of the story see sarga 8-9 in the South Indian recension, sarga 8 in the Bengal recension, and sarga 8, vs. 1-30 in the North-western recension.

⁶¹ This part of the story has been narrated in sarga 10 in the South Indian recension, sarga 9 in the Bengal recension, and sarga 8, vs. 31-76 in the North-western recension.

⁶² For this part of the story see sarga 11 in the South Indian recension, sarga 10 in the Bengal recension, and sarga 9, vs. 1-37 in the North-western recension.

and Bengal recensions) is quite irrelevant in the third part of the story, will be evident from a perusal of the outlines of this story given above; and this awkward position tends to give it a stamp of inauthenticity and later origin.

9. Even the North-western and Bengal recensions, which make Śāntā the daughter of Daśaratha of Ayodhyā in the third part of the story, have, in its first part, the following vs. in common with the South Indian recension:

ānāyā tu mahārāja ṛṣyaśrīgam-rseh sutam /
prayacchāsmāi sutāṃ śāntāṃ vidhinā susamāhitā //

It is to be noted that in this vs. Śāntā has been called the 'sutā' (daughter) of Lomapāda. In the second part also these two recensions have another vs. in which Śāntā has been said to be the 'kanyā' (daughter) of the same king. A more definite statement as regards the relation between Śāntā and Lomapāda is found in another vs. which is contained in the first part of the story in both these recensions and in which Śāntā has been called Lomapāda's 'own daughter' (svakā duhitā).

From the internal evidences adduced above it appears that the South Indian recension is correct in taking Śāntā as the daughter of Lomapāda of Anga, that in the first two parts of the story the North-western and Bengal recensions also agree with the South Indian recension as regards Śāntā's descent from Lomapāda, and that the new information, contained in the third part of the story in the North-western and Bengal recensions, about Śāntā's descent from Daśaratha of Ayodhyā and Lomapāda's taking her in adoption, is purely a later fabrication without basis.

The authenticity of the South Indian tradition about Śāntā's descent from Lomapāda is finally established by independent external evidences supplied by early Purāṇic and Epic traditions. For instance, in their accounts of the royal dynasties the *Vāyu-p*, *Matsya-p*, *Brahma-p* and *Hari-vamśa* have the line

'lomapāda iti khyāto yasya śāntā sutābhavāt⁶³

⁶³ *Vāyu p* 99 103, *Matsya p* 48 95, *Brahma-p* 13 40, *Harivamśa* 1. 31. 46b

which definitely states that Śāntā was Lomapāda's daughter. In giving the Rāma-story in Vana-parvan, chaps. 273-290, the *Mbh.* refers to the birth of Rāma and his three brothers but makes no mention of any daughter having been born to Daśaratha. On the other hand, in its story of R̥ṣyaśṛṅga given in chaps. 110-113 of the same Parvan⁶⁴ and in its sections on Dāna-stuti (praise of gifts) contained in the Śānti and the Anuśāsana-parvan⁶⁵ the *Mbh.* expressly says that Śāntā was Lomapāda's daughter (duhitṛ, sutā).

From what has been said above it is evident that Śāntā was the daughter of king Lomapāda of Anga and not of Daśaratha of Ayodhyā as is said in the North Indian recensions of the *Rām.*

It will be interesting here to point out what led to the origin of the North Indian tradition which regards Śāntā as the daughter of Daśaratha of Ayodhyā and gives out that she was taken in adoption by king Lomapāda of Aṅga.

From an examination of the genealogical texts in the *Vāyu-p.*, *Brahma-p.* and *Harivamśa* we gather the following information about Lomapāda and his immediate descendants.

In the royal family ruling over Aṅga there was a king named Citraratha, who had a son named Daśaratha. This Daśaratha became 'well known' (khyāta) under the name of Lomapāda, and to him a daughter named Śāntā was born. Caturanga, who was a hero of great fame (and was

⁶⁴ *Mbh.* iii 110 26 (=crit ed iii 110 5) states that like Savitr who offered the hand of Sāvitrī, Lomapāda gave his daughter Śāntā to R̥ṣyaśṛṅga—

nirvariteteṣu śasyeṣu yaśmai śāntāṃ dadau nṛpaḥ /
lomapādo duhitaraṃ sāvitrīṃ savitā yathā //

Also *Mbh.* iii 113 11a (=crit ed iii 113 11a) sa lomapādaḥ paṇḍura kāmāḥ
sutāṃ dadāv r̥ṣyaśṛṅgāya śāntāṃ

⁶⁵ By way of praising the gift of various things in Śānti parvan, chap. 233, and Anuśāsana parvan, chap. 137, the *Mbh.* names a number of kings who earned great merit by giving their daughters to venerable sages, and among these kings there is mention of Lomapāda who is said to have been immensely rewarded with all objects of desire for giving his daughter Śāntā to R̥ṣyaśṛṅga

lomapādaś-ca rājaraṣṭh śāntāṃ dattvā sutāṃ prabhuḥ /

r̥ṣyaśṛṅgāya vipulāḥ sarva kāmāḥ-ayujyata // *Mbh.* xii. 233 34 and xiii 137 25

also called 'Dāśarathī', as the Purāṇic texts indicate), was born to Daśaratha (Lomapāda) through Ṛṣyaśṛṅga's favour.⁶⁶

The *Matsya-p.* also contains the same information about Daśaratha, Śāntā and Caturanga but makes the first the grandson of Citraratha and son of Satyaratha.⁶⁷ The *Viṣṇu-p.*, though taking Śāntā to be the daughter of king Daśaratha of Ayodhyā and stating that she was given by her father in adoption to king Lomapāda, agrees with the *Vāyu* and the other Purāṇas mentioned above in its statement that Daśaratha, son of king Citraratha of Anga, was also known as Lomapāda.⁶⁸ So, there is little doubt about the fact that it was Lomapāda's original name 'Daśaratha' which was the main cause of confusion between Daśaratha of Ayodhyā and Daśaratha (Lomapāda) of Anga, who were contemporaries. With the growing ignorance of the people of later ages about ancient Indian historical tradition and with the rising popularity of the Ayodhyā family and of Rāma as a divine being the name 'Daśaratha' came to be widely used to mean Daśaratha of Ayodhyā, and Śāntā, who must have

⁶⁶ *Vāyu p.* 99 103 104

sūnur dharmarathasyāpi rājā citraratho bhavat /
atha citrarathasyāpi rājā daśaratho'bhavat /
lomapāda itī khyato yasya śāntā sutābhavat / /
sa tu dāśarathir-vīraś caturango mahāmanāḥ /
ṛṣyaśṛṅga prasādena jajñe'tha kula vardhanāḥ / /

For these vs. see also *Brahma p.* 13 38b and 40-41 (v l 'vidvān dharmaratho nāma tasya citrarathāḥ sutāḥ' for line 1 'putro for 'rājā in line 2, 'tasya for 'sa tu', and 'mahāyāśāḥ' for 'mahāmanāḥ' in line 4, and jajñe varṣa vivardhanāḥ' for 'jajñe'tha' etc in line 5), and *Harivaṃśa* 1 31 44b and 46-47 (v l same as in the *Brahma p.*, but reading 'jajñe kula-vivardhanāḥ' for the second half of line 5)

⁶⁷ *Matsya p.* 48 94 96a

atha dharmarathasyābhūt putraś citrarathāḥ kila /
tasya satyarathāḥ putras-tasmād daśarathāḥ kila / /
lomapāda itī khyātas tasya śāntā sutābhavat /
atha dāśarathir vīraś caturango mahāyāśāḥ / /
ṛṣyaśṛṅga-prasādena jajñe sva kula vardhanāḥ /

⁶⁸ *Viṣṇu p.* iv 18 3-4

aṅga-sutaḥ pāras tato divirathas tasmād dharmarathas-tataś citrarathāḥ /
romapāda saṃjño yasya putro daśaratho jajñe /
yasmai aja putro daśarathāḥ śāntām nāma kanyam anapatyāya duhitṛtve yuyoja /
romapādāc caturāṅgaḥ /
v l romapādāc-caturāṅgaḥ cf *Viṣṇu-p.* Vaṅg cd

been known in early times as the daughter of 'Dasaratha' (of Anga), was taken by a section of people to be the daughter of the illustrious Daśaratha of Ayodhyā. But to account for the well known fact that Lomapāda-Dasaratha gave Śāntā in marriage to Rśyaśrnga who had been lured to his capital by courtesans, these people fabricated the story that Lomapāda, being childless, had approached his friend Daśaratha of Ayodhyā and taken Śāntā in adoption from him before giving her in marriage to Rśyaśrnga.

The above confusion was also encouraged to a great extent by certain words used in the *Ram* itself. For instance, in the line 'rśyaśrngas tu jāmāta putrāṃs tava-vidhāsyati'⁶⁹ ('but Rśyaśrnga, the son-in law, will cause the birth of sons to you'), spoken out by Sumantra to king Daśaratha of Ayodhyā, the word 'jāmātā', being used without the expressed mention of the person to whom Rśyaśrnga was a son-in law, has been connected with Daśaratha of Ayodhya and taken conveniently in favour of their opinion by those who find reasons to believe in the new tradition of Śāntā's parentage. Thus, in commenting on the above line of the *Ram* Govindarāja says

jāmata romapādasya dasarathasyāpi vā /
daśarathasyaurasi śānta datta romapadasya //

although in the South Indian text, on which Govindarāja comments, there is no mention of Śāntā's descent from Daśaratha of Ayodhyā or of her being taken in adoption by Lomapada. Even the famous commentary *Ramajana tilaka*, which explains the above line as 'anga raja mitratvasya rājñi vaksyamānatvena mitra jāmātā svasyāpi jāmātā eva ity ato jāmātety uktih' and thus admits the reasonability of Rśyaśrnga's relation as a son in law to Dasaratha of Ayodhyā due to the latter's friendship with Lomapāda, does not preclude the possibility of Śāntā's descent from this Daśaratha and her being taken in adoption by Lomapada of Anga, as he remarks 'bijantaram api agre vaksyate etad-

⁶⁹ *Ram* (Vaśg ed.) 1.9.20a (=Burdwan ed. 1.9.20a=Kumbhakonam ed. 1.9.18a)

ukteh'. As a matter of fact, in explaining the word 'sambandhaka' occurring in the vs.

'romapādena cākhyātam-rsiputrāya dhimate /
sakhyam sambandhakam caiva tadā taṃ pratyapūjayat / '

(*Rām*, Vang. ed. 1.11. 17b-18a), this commentary says:
'sakhyam sva-maitrī sambandhakam yaunādi-
sambandhah / rṣiputrāya romapādena ākhyātam
kathitam / tadā tac-chravanāntara-kāle tam
daśaratham pratyapūjayat rśyaśrnga iti śesah /
tena saha romapādena saha sambandhas-cāyam
tādrśah yena daśarathasyāpi jāmātrva-vyavahāra-
yogya rśyaśrngah / etad-eva abhipretya uktam prāk-
tava jāmātetī / kvacīc-ca evam pathyate'pi—
"anena me'napatyāya datteyam vara-varnini /
yācate putra-tulyaisā śāntā priyatarātmajā /
so'yaṃ te śvaśuro brahman

iti/atra yācate iti caturthy-antam / ata eva prāk
sāntahpurasya angadeśe gamanam-uktam / kanyā-
snehād-dhī tāsām gamanam-iti bhāti /

Govindarāja also explains the word 'sambandhaka'
thus:

'sambandhakam śāntāyā janaka-pitrva-rūpam sam-
bandham'.

Elsewhere, in the vss

'iksvākūnām kule jāto bhaviṣyati sudhārmikah /
nāmnā daśaratho rājā śrīmān satya-pratiśravāh / /
anga-rājena sakhyam ca tasya rājño bhaviṣyati /
kanyā cāsya mahābhāgā śāntā nāma bhaviṣyati / '

of the South Indian recension⁷⁰, which reads as

'iksvāku-vamśajo rājā bhaviṣyati mahāyaśāh /
nāmnā daśaratho nāma dhīmān satya-parākramah / /
sakhyam tasyānga-rājena bhaviṣyati mahātmanah /
kanyā cāsya mahābhāgā śāntā nāma bhaviṣyati / '

⁷⁰ For reference to these vss as occurring in the different editions of this recension see fn 12 above

in the North Indian recensions⁷¹, the word 'asya' in the fourth line naturally points to the word 'anga rāja' which has been used nearer to it than the word 'daśaratha'. But, curiously enough, some people have connected this word with 'dasaratha', for which the word 'tasya' has already been used in the third line. It is due to this fact that the word 'asya' is found replaced by 'tasya' in some of the mss. of the Bengal recension of the *Ram*⁷² and that the story of Śantā's descent from Daśaratha of Ayodhya and her being taken in adoption by Lomapāda, has been introduced in the North Indian recensions immediately after the line 'kanyā cāsyā mahābhāga śanta nāma bhaviṣyati'. We have said above that the occurrence of this story at this place is quite irrelevant. As this new story, being perfectly extraneous, could not be inserted conveniently in the first part of the Rśyaśrnga-legend which was its proper place, it was placed after the above mentioned line by taking the word 'asya' to mean Dasaratha.

From the above analysis of the Rśyaśrnga legend as well as from a critical comparison of its text as occurring in the different recensions of the *Ram* we have seen why and how this legend being modified by degrees first in Bhagavad Datta's ed. (representing the North western recension) and then in Schlegel's ed. (belonging to the Bengal recension) has taken its final form in the Bengal text represented by Amareswar Thakur and Gorresio's editions. This is an important fact which explains partially the rise of the Bengal text by gradual modifications from the South Indian one.

⁷¹ For the variations in readings in these two vss. as occurring in the different editions of these recensions see fn. 32 above.

⁷² Amareswar Thakur's ed. 1. 10. 3 fn. 6.

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CORRIGENDUM

p 126	line 30 read—Chapter V	instead of—Appendix
p 188	line 18 read—Sutagita	instead of—Sutagita
p 214	line 4 read—Gul	instead of—Gaul

